DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 024 502 RC 002 785

By-Hoffer, Charles R.
Michigan Communities, Social Organization and Change in Local Areas.
Michigan State Univ., East Lansing. Agricultural Experimental Station.
Pub Date 64
Note-119p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$6.05
Descriptors-*Change Agents, Church Role, Community Characteristics, *Community Development, Community Planning, Community Study, *Economic Development, Extension Education, Health Services, Institutions, Library Services, Population Distribution, *Rural Areas, *School Community Relationship, Social Development
Identifiers-*Michigan

As the concept of community is changing, emphasis in community analysis is changing from a geographic focus to examination of interest clusters within a geographic location. Village communities are declining while town-country communities are becoming more numerous. The suburban community is a recent development, and although it develops its own institutions and organizations essential for community life, it generally derives its economic support from another nearby community. Decreases in rural population have increased the importance of the county as a unit of government and have caused the development of consolidated school districts. The emphasis on religious denominationalization has begun to decline, but the church's essential role of interpreting and developing religious and social interests is increasing in importance. Community influences in relation to public health and medical care have become more accepted. The local community has an important part in providing recreational facilities. The local community derives its importance from being the focal point for many activities and interests in modern society. (JH)

Research Bulletin 1

1964

ED 024502

RECEIVED
OCT 14 1968
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Michigan Communities
Social Organization and Change in Local Areas

By Charles R. Hoffer

RC 002 785

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
East Lansing

CONTENTS

Preface 3

Foreword 4

Introduction 5
  Purpose of Study 5
  Some Basic Assumptions 7

Types of Communities 8
  The Open Country Community 9
  The Town Country Community 10
    An Example of a Town Country Community—Mohawk, Michigan 13
    Outlook for the Town Country Community 18
  The Suburban Community 19
    Outlook for the Suburban Community 25
  The Urban Community 25

Institutions in Community Life 30
  Economic Institutions 30
    Changes in the Economic Base of Communities 31
    Marketing 35
    Improvements in Retailing 36
    Consumer Education 38
    Organization for Economic Development 38
    Summary 39
  Local Government 39
    The Organization of Local Government 40
    The Town 40
    The Township 42
    The Township and the Incorporated Town 43
    Townships Near Large Cities 45
    The Incorporated Town 45
    The County 46
    Citizen Reaction to Government 48
  Educational Institutions 51
    The Public School 51
    Ecological Factors in School District Formation 51
    Community Relationships of the School 54
    The School Board as an Agency of Control 56
    The Community School 57
    An Example of Community School Effort 58

- The Library 61
  - Extent of Library Services 61
  - Social Factors Affecting Library Service 62
  - The County Library 64
  - Social Control of the Library 64
- Cooperative Extension Service 65
  - The Sumpter Community 67
  - The Litchberg Community (Responsive) 72
- The Church 78
  - The Organization of the Church 78
  - The Larger Parish 80
  - The Community Church 81
  - The Role of the Church in the Community 82
  - Financial Support of the Church 83
- Health 84
  - The Organization of Health Services 85
  - An Example of Medical Care in a Community Not Having a Physician 86
  - An Example of Medical Care in a Community Well Supplied with Physicians 88
  - Hospital Services 89
  - Public Health Facilities 91
  - Organization of Public Health Activities 91
  - Voluntary Health Organizations 93
- Recreation 96
  - Services of Institutions and Organizations 97

Community Planning and Development 100
- Organization for Planning 101
  - The Community Council 101
  - The Planning Commission 102
  - Aspects of Social Action 103
  - Initiation 103
  - Legitimation 104
  - Execution 105
  - Community Planning and Community Development 106

Summary and Conclusions 108

Reference Cited and Related Literature 115

PREFACE

Dr. Charles R. Hoffer has devoted more than thirty years to the study of the continuities and changes of rural life in Michigan. His numerous surveys of local institutions and the responses of diverse groups to their life situations added "hard facts" where few were otherwise available; taken together they deepened our understanding of the processes we now often refer to as community development. Hence it seems entirely fitting to ask of this seasoned investigator: what, in sum, can we learn from your empirical research and general reflections on your findings which might help us to comprehend the general pattern of modernization in our rural Michigan communities?

This particular bulletin is designed to offer in historical context a sociological perspective on the developing character of the Michigan community. Its specific objective is to accomplish one of the primary functions of sociology in a complex, ever-changing society—to integrate the fund of verified knowledge and, thereby, to derive a coherent account of the established social structures and their transformations. The analysis focuses, therefore, on the overview which relates discrete organizations and policy issues inside communities to the larger order of things. The presentation does not emphasize startling new data but rather focuses on long range trends and probes beneath the surfaces of actual happenings. Persons close to rural communities will discover much that appears familiar in their everyday world and the senior generation may easily recall as they read along when this or that pattern still prevailed in their own immediate world.

The three interrelated themes of this study—the cultural heritage incorporated in community traditions, the eventful decisions which confront local organizations as they adapt to new conditions, and the implications of a viable community for modern social life—are consonant with Dr. Hoffer's endeavor throughout his life work to sensitize the citizens of Michigan to the opportunities and challenges open to them in the building of a complex civilization.

John Useem, Chairman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

FOREWORD

MICHIGAN COMMUNITIES have been a subject of interest and study for a long time. Many years ago, communities appeared to be fairly distinct and separate entities, typified most clearly, perhaps, by the town-country community with the town at the center and a trade area of farm land surrounding it. Time and modern inventions have changed this situation. With the increase of urban population and its consequent expansion, not only into the suburbs immediately surrounding the city but along roads in country areas as well, community relationships have become diffused. Hence, community life in Michigan is now manifest in many ways. A particular area may be a part of one community for one service or interest but a part of another community for another.

Communities may be classified in many ways. The classification used in this treatise is based primarily on size, beginning with the open-country at one end of a continuum and going on to the town-country type, the suburban, and finally the urban.

Each of these types has been greatly affected by population changes which have occurred during the last half century. Certain institutions in community life are inextricably related to its organization and development. They are greatly affected by social change caused by population movement and other influences such as inventions. These institutions are considered in this bulletin under such headings as the economic institutions, government, education, the church and health. Illustrations are presented, whenever possible, from sociological research which has been done in recent decades in Michigan. In fact, one purpose of this bulletin is to focus and reinterpret this research from the standpoint of social organization and change in relation to community life. A final section deals with community planning and development.

MICHIGAN COMMUNITIES
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE IN LOCAL AREAS

By CHARLES R. HOFFER

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF STUDY

THE PURPOSE of this publication is to examine the nature and certain characteristics of communities in Michigan. Definitions of community vary depending upon the aspect of community life which is being emphasized. In this treatise the definition which seems most suitable is: *A community consists of people living in a contiguous area who have one or more common interests as a consequence of living in the area.*

A complete census of all communities in the state has not been made, but several research investigations of different aspects of community life in Michigan have been done. The results of these studies furnish by way of illustration a good insight into many aspects of community life in this state. The focus of attention will be on social organization and change as they are manifest in local areas. Organization is emphasized because it tends to present what exists at a particular time and place. Change is considered because the physical and social forces are continually affecting community life both in its quantitative and qualitative aspects. Some communities are getting smaller; some are increasing in size. Some are changing little in area or in population. In all of them, there have been and are inevitable changes in social contacts, ways of making a living, and in the interpretation of existing values, if not indeed the acceptance of new values. Such an analysis of communities, it is believed, will be helpful in providing a clearer understanding and perspective about community life in Michigan.

The state of Michigan is particularly suited for such a study. It is a large state which has a great deal of diversity in climate, natural resources, industry and agriculture. Moreover, the population for the state as a whole has increased markedly during the last fifty years. But at the same time some areas have lost population and some communities (towns) have disappeared entirely. A recent publication states that presently 57 counties have a larger population than ever before; 26 counties have fewer people. Peak population was reached in 17 counties in 1910 or earlier (54). The following table gives some indication of population changes in Michigan since 1900.

TABLE 1—Population growth in Michigan 1900-1960*

Year	*Total*	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Percentage of Change Over Preceding Decade*		
1900	2,420,982	1,468,659	952,323	15.6	7.7	30.4
1910	2,810,173	1,483,129	1,327,044	16.1	1.0	39.3
1920	3,668,412	1,426,852	2,241,560	30.5	− 3.8	68.9
1930	4,842,325	1,540,250	3,302,075	32.0	7.9	47.3
1940	5,256,106	1,801,239	3,454,867	8.5	16.0	4.6
1950	6,371,766	2,272,759	4,099,007	21.2	26.2	18.6
1960	7,823,194	2,084,062	5,739,132	22.8	−11.5	27.4

***Source: U. S. Census of Population.**

The outstanding fact made evident by the data in this table is the increase of the urban population. This trend was so pronounced that by 1960 the urban population was more than two times greater than rural population.

Such a change may be regarded as sort of an index of many changes in social organization that occur as a consequence of urbanization. In this half century the automobile came into general use as a means of travel and produced many changes in community life. Perhaps the most obvious result of the automobile is the development of suburbs around cities—suburban communities as they are usually called.

Another result of the automobile has been a change in the trading habits of farmers and other residents in rural areas. They are no longer limited to the nearest store or town but can travel with comparative ease to other and probably larger towns to make purchases. This has caused a decline in business carried on at the nearby center, especially if it is small. This decline of certain types of business in the smaller trade centers was evident in Michigan as early as 1930, and the trend to trade in larger centers has been accelerated since that time (27).

Other changes in the state having a major influence on community life is the depletion or exhaustion of natural resources. Timber is a good example. Once much of Michigan was covered with forests, and it seemed then that the supply of timber was inexhaustible. But gradually the supply dwindled and communities throughout the state where timber was a major source of income had to find other bases for their economy, or disappear. Some did go out of existence. Others found different sources of income and because they did, a number of them grew even beyond anything that seemed possible when lumbering was the main source of income. Similar changes occurred in communities dependent on mining. Eventually mines were depleted or it became unprofitable to operate them, so communities dependent on mining had to find other sources of income.

Another change affecting community life especially in farming areas was the increase in the size of farms and a consequent decrease in farm population. Mechanization and specialization in agricultural production are mainly responsible for this change. The evidence for it is clear. Farmers with modern machinery are buying or renting more land. Small farms are disappearing for they are unprofitable as units in agricultural production, though the farm house may remain and be occupied by a non-farm family.

This brief description of social changes within Michigan is only a part of a much longer list that might be mentioned. School consolidation, for example, is one which has greatly affected local community life. Rural churches no longer exist in the open country nearly to the extent that they did in the pre-automobile period. Means of communication and getting information are not now as dependent upon the local paper. Radio and television bring news and entertainment from world-wide sources into the homes of the people. Health practices have changed. The old type family doctor is disappearing and the highly trained specialist with modern techniques and hospital facilities near at hand is becoming the accepted pattern.

Thus the question arises, what is community life like? How is it adjusting to these changes? What will prevail at the end of the twentieth century?

It seems worthwhile to examine some of the major aspects of community life in order to find out what is happening or is likely to happen in Michigan and, by implication, in other parts of the United States where similar conditions prevail. In addition to general sociological analysis, the source of data for this study will be mainly published research materials dealing with conditions as they are related to communities in Michigan.

SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Some basic assumptions will guide the investigation. It is assumed that:

(1) Population change is a basic cause of change in community life.

(2) Economic self-sufficiency of communities is decreasing, and intercommunity cooperation and interdependence is increasing.

(3) The population of most communities is becoming more heterogeneous.

(4) Institutions and the services which communities provide will change, but they will continue to be a vital part of community life.

(5) Although a part of a mass society, the community still retains much autonomy and initiative in local affairs.

(6) As a part of the mass society, the local community exerts a proportional influence through public opinion and, in other ways, on the formation and interpretation of national policy and social values.

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

There are many ways in which communities may be classified. The basis of classification depends upon the aspect of community life which is to be emphasized. The usual classification into rural and urban is most general and usually is most relevant for purposes of analysis and comparison. It is based essentially on number of people identified with a community. However, a slightly modified form of this classification will be used in the present treatise. As a substitute for the term rural the classifications open country and town country will be used, and instead of urban the terms suburban and urban are described. This classification encompasses all the type of communities existing in Michigan. Occasionally one hears the terms mining community, industrial community, and resort community used. Such classifications emphasize the economic base of the community, but they do not negate the classifications of open country, town country, suburban or urban. Likewise the culture aspect is sometimes emphasized as when one speaks of a Finnish community in Northern Michigan, Polish community, for example, Hamtramck, or a Dutch community in Ottawa County. What such terms imply is that the inhabitants of communities of this type have culture traits which are characteristic of one of these ethnic groups.

THE OPEN COUNTRY COMMUNITY[1]

This is a type of community which exists in rural areas. It was most prevalent from the time of settlement in the United States until the recent decades of the twentieth century. It is a small clustering of houses and a few business places, usually a grocery store and possibly a hardware store, and now almost certainly a gasoline service station. A grain elevator may provide a market outlet for grain and if it be in a dairy region, a creamery may be in operation. There may or may not be a school and church in the village. If not, these facilities will be available in places nearby or at a larger trade center.

Information about the number of such communities in Michigan is not available. It is certain that at one time they were numerous, but now they are decreasing in number as automobile and trucking facilities have increased. Some years ago a survey was made of such groups in Livingston County, a general farming and dairy farming area. This study revealed that there were in the county thirteen active open country communities, (they were designated as hamlets in the study) and seven inactive ones (40). The fact that the number of inactive ones is so large is an indication that communities of this type are disappearing. Remarks about one of these groups, "Haller's Corners," is indicative of what such a community is like. Miller and Beegle wrote as follows concerning this group:

"Here is an example of a larger neighborhood, whose identity has greatly weakened since the early days of settlement in Livingston County. Today, the single neighborhood institution that is maintained is the local Free Methodist Church. Haller's Corners radiates from the crossroads of the same area and name. It consists of 30 families, occupies 4 square miles of territory and is geographically centered by a small neat and well-kept church. This tiny church is the only formal institution in the neighborhood. There are no economic institutions in the neighborhood. Three families are associated with the local soil conservation district and one of which is the chairman of the district administrative group . . . eight families were closely identified with the church at the time of the study. Seven were moderately identified and sixteen were not affiliated. The families who were identified with the local church differ from the other families in that they were relatively older in age, have resided longer in the neighborhood and maintained smaller farming operations." Actually, the description of this community goes on to point out that there is evidence of a dual network of social relationship in this small area. Those associated with the church constitute one group and non-church families constituted another group.

---

[1] Some sociologists are inclined to designate this type of community as a neighborhood and therefore the words neighborhood and community are sometimes used interchangeably. The neighborhood, however, is based primarily on proximity of residence. It is a locality group, whereas the term community encompasses locality and interest.

These "extended neighborhoods," Miller and Beegle point out, are largely characterized by (1) their position of serving the intermediate trading needs of rural people, and (2) supporting, for the most part, the open country religious structure of the county. "Quite typical of this level of social grouping in Livingston County is Cohoctah. Backed by strong traditions, Cohoctah, nevertheless, does not occupy the role that it once held. At the present, two grocery stores, a farm implement shop, a hardware store, post-office, grain elevator, and a small railroad depot make up the economic institutions. A Methodist church and an elementary school in one of the three districts offer the predominant religious, educational, and social advantages in this 'extended neighborhood' (40)."

Social organization and the social change portend that in the future new communities of this type will not be formed in Michigan nor in other parts of the United States. In fact, it seems likely that many will disappear. Others will continue to exist, but offer fewer services.

THE TOWN COUNTRY COMMUNITY

The next type of community which is larger than the open country community is the town country community. This has been variously called the rural community, the trade center community, or simply "community," it being assumed that the connotation is a trade center community in a rural area. In days before the automobile came into general use such communities constituted the principal, if not the only, trading point for many people living in rural areas. The center of the community would be a town (usually incorporated) varying in population from approximately 500 in population to 2,500 or even more in some instances. The size of the trade area surrounding the town would depend upon the distance families traveled to trade regularly in the town. These trade centers offered the goods and services which were most frequently demanded by the people. This included such businesses as drug stores, general stores, grocery stores, hardwares and meat markets. Even as late as 1930, trade centers in Michigan of 500 in population had on the average at least one store of these types. The decline in the number of such stores was occurring then, however, because the average number existing in 1930 was smaller than the number in 1900 (27).

Since the automobile has become so generally used, each trade center must compete with other similar and sometimes larger trade centers in trade (merchandising), marketing, and in the services offered by institutions and organizations. Consequently some towns (trade center communities) have declined in both population and in the number and variety of services which they offer. In true ecological fashion these changes did not occur regularly or uniformly throughout the country. Advantages of location, economic resources and the aggressiveness of the people modified the community relationship. In general such influences work to the advantage of larger trade centers. The services remaining in any particular locality must be a type which, due to their proximity to a sufficient number of homes, can compete with a similar service in nearby trade centers.

Several years ago, the writer explained in an article published in a sociological journal (16) that three types of trade centers were developing in rural areas, namely, (1) the primary trade center, (2) the intermediate trade center (designated as a shopping center in the previous article) and (3) the terminal centers. A primary center is the first or nearest trading point for the farm family. It may be a small hamlet, as described in the preceding paragraph, with only a grocery store, gasoline station and possibly a hardware establishment. The intermediate center ranks between the primary trade center and the terminal center. A town of a thousand population surrounded by farms would be typical. It has a limited number of specialty stores, such as shoes or jewelry. The terminal center is a larger place and has all the trade and service facilities that a family is likely to need even on an intermittent basis. The equilibrium resulting from the interrelated influences of type of service, number of people needed to support it, and distance families must travel to reach a trade center will determine if it will, or will not, have a particular agency of trade. Social trends in rural life are bringing into sharper focus the existence of the three types of trade centers mentioned in the preceding sentence.

It follows from the foregoing statements that a family living near a primary trade center will patronize it for convenience goods. It may go to an intermediate center for certain other services and to a terminal center for others which are more specialized. Families living near a terminal center will go to it for most of the services that they need. Thus the current ecological pattern represents a stratified arrangement in which the trade area of the terminal center extends over that of the intermediate and the primary centers, while that of the intermediate center overlaps the primary center. A schematic presentation of this arrangement is presented in Fig. 1.

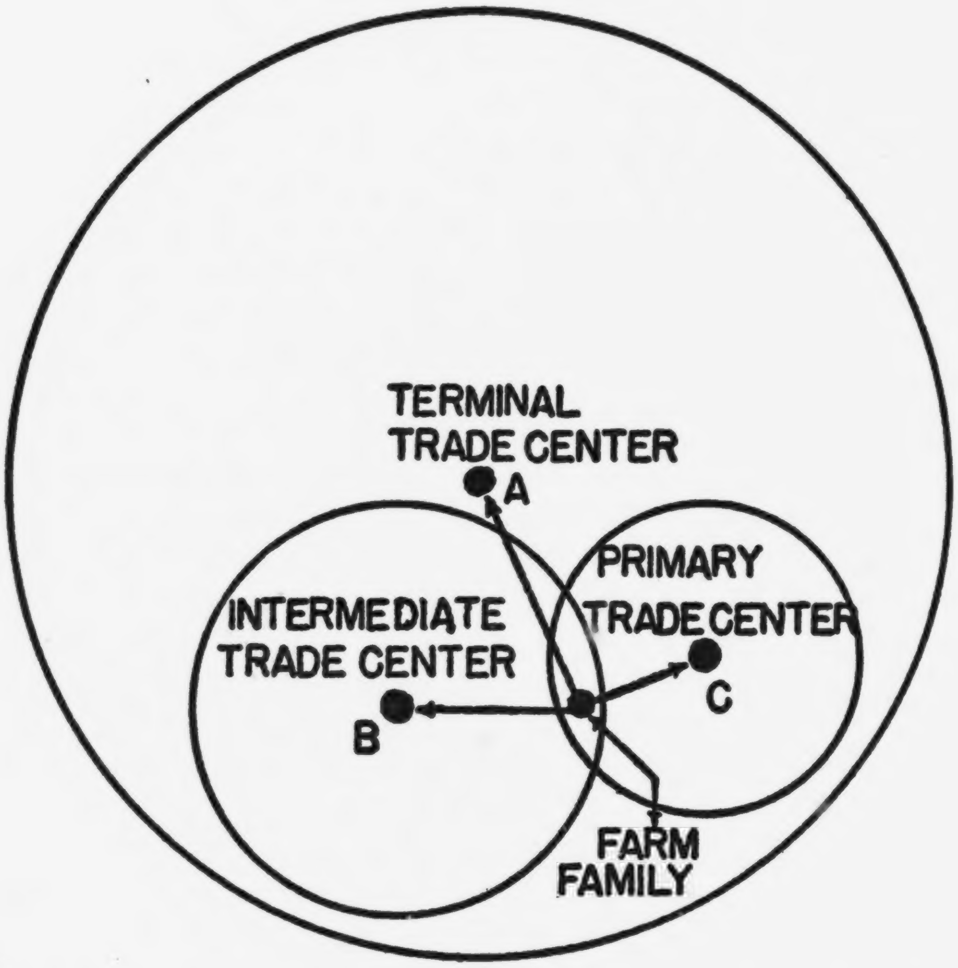


Fig. 1. Schematic presentation of the contemporary pattern of rural trade areas. The solid lines from the farm family to the trade center suggest that on occasion the farm family trades at centers A, B, or C. Note that trade areas overlap. Source: (29).

Changes similar to those which have been described for agencies of trade have been occurring also in varying degrees among other services. Public health and medical facilities, libraries, public schools, and social services have shifted wholly or in part to the larger center, often to the county seat. Thus the county has become much more than a political center. It now has several characteristics of a true ecological community.

An Example of a Town Country Community—Mohawk, Michigan[2]

A traveler approaching the Mohawk community on the main highway which goes through the town would see fertile fields and modern-appearing farmsteads. As he gets nearer the center some new "suburban" developments would become visible. Closer to the center of the town there are dwellings and some store buildings whose appearance clearly indicates that they belong to another era. Occasionally, however, a new modern business place will be evident and some of the older store buildings will have modernized fronts. Thus the old and the new are intermixed in the architecture of the community even as they are in the attitudes and experiences of the inhabitants themselves.

Prior to the coming of a major industry in 1934, the community of Mohawk was a prosperous rural trade center in the southern part of Michigan. The town established in 1824 formed the center of the community. By 1840 there were approximately 2,500 people in the town. After that the population declined to some extent, reaching a low point in 1894 when 2,210 inhabitants were reported.

Mohawk, however, did not share the fate of several other towns which had been established during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Some disappeared entirely, or became small neighborhood centers as their economy was exhausted, or competition from other towns drew trade away from their stores.

Mohawk was fortunate in being surrounded with fertile farm land. This advantage, along with a few small industries, kept the population fairly close to the 2,500 mark until after 1930. Though serious, even the depression of the 30's did not disrupt the basic economy and way of life to which the people had become accustomed.

The estimated population of the community (city and trade area) in 1950 was 8,000. According to the United States Census report, about half of these people lived within the corporate limits of the town with the remainder living in the trade area on farms or in recently developed housing projects. The trade area includes about 35 square miles. According to calculations from census data, the population within the town itself increased 37.3 per cent from 1940 to 1950. No other Michigan town (exclusive of suburbs) of similar size in 1950 had nearly as great an increase. The term "Native White" would include a high percentage of the population both in the trade center and on the farms. A high percentage of the population 14 years old or over were married and a high percentage of the families owned or were buying their homes.

---

[2] Adapted from Charles R. Hoffer and Walter Freeman, *Social Action Resulting from Industrial Development*, (1955). Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 401. Mohawk is a fictitious name for a community in the southeastern part of Michigan.

The United States Census classification, by major industrial groups, of employed workers living in Mohawk shows that 64.5 per cent of the males were working in manufacturing. A total of 16 per cent were engaged in wholesale and retail trade. Except for manufacturing this was the largest group in the town. The manufacturing group is higher than it is likely to be in most rural trade centers because one factory, the Mohawk Products Company, employed a large number of workers.

The trade and service organizations have increased in number, becoming more specialized with the increase of population. One indication of change in the trade and service facilities of Mohawk during the period from 1932 to 1951 is indicated by noting the services listed in a commercial directory in 1932, but not in 1951. The list follows: hay buyers, ice company, and millinery stores. On the other hand, the following types of agencies were listed in 1951 but not in 1932; ambulance service, appliances and services (household), beauty shop, bowling, camera shop, carpet store, cleaners (and dyeing), clothing—women's, department store, electrical supplies, electrical contractors, frozen food locker, fuel oil, insurance agents, insurance—auto, insurance—fire, ladies' ready-to-wear, loan company, plumbing and heating.

Such a long list of additions indicates changes in the buying habits of the people during the twenty year period; a trend toward more specialization and for more services is clearly evident.

The additions of these agencies of trade and service did not cause undue strain in community life. Individual business men may complain as many local merchants did when chain stores came into rural trade centers like Mohawk, but people trade where they choose and thus decide such issues. The fact that an increase in population leads to an increased demand for consumer goods and services is widely recognized and approved.

Inquiry among residents in the community did not reveal any evidence of community conflict as this gradual expansion occurred. Some of the newcomers were dissatisfied with the appearance of business places, but the dissatisfaction never developed beyond the statement of an individual opinion or objection. Nevertheless, the desire to see the stores change to a modern appearance was gaining momentum when the survey of the community was made. The newcomers believed that improvements in appearance along with modern methods of merchandising would bring increased trade while "old roots" maintain that it is unwise to take the financial risk that the improvements would involve.

In 1948, a Chamber of Commerce was organized. The stated purpose of this organization was "to build Mohawk and put it on the map." The organization represented the interest of "main streeters" which included several "old roots" and the interests of the "products" men who were classified as "newcomers." The Chamber of Commerce provided an integrative tie between the two. Differences in points of view have diminished as they have worked together to attain mutually desired goals.

The integrative process is far from complete, however. The merchant accustomed to the tempo of a rural way of life does not react readily to pressures for change which involve risks that may be considered relatively routine by the urban minded merchant. To respond to changes, he must depart from traditions and practices of the past. Yet such changes are necessary. The growth of the "products" greatly accelerated a trend in Mohawk, which is occurring to some extent in a majority of town country communities throughout the United States.

A four-year high school and four elementary schools are located in the town. In 1954, a Catholic parochial school was organized. It was expected that between 60 and 80 pupils would transfer from the public school to the parochial school in 1954-1955. The experience of Mohawk with school facilities appears to be typical of a community with a rapid growth in population. The enrollment of the public schools increased rapidly with the development of industry, and problems of financing additional school buildings and teaching personnel were imminent. Public opinion definitely favored education, even though large costs were involved. The Mohawk weekly paper expressed the trend of opinion as follows:

> "Education today costs too much money to offer it in a makeshift manner. Proper training without proper tools cannot be given. Mohawk, it seems, is paying the penalty for growth if growth is to

to be penalized. In the period between 1940 and 1950, Mohawk made the most rapid growth of any community in the county according to the United States Census. Mohawk is still growing and probably will continue to grow with the future."

It thus seems clear that Mohawk had residents whose attitudes favored adequate school facilities whatever the cost. To these residents, education was an important part of the "American way of life" and hence was indispensable. Fortunately, they had industrial properties within the community, thereby greatly increasing the tax income of the school district. Many school systems in rural and suburban communities lack the advantage of industrial tax income, as the industries employing many of the residents are located outside school districts.

There were eleven churches in the community. Growth in population did not seem to cause a crisis in church affairs or create differences between old roots and newcomers. The newcomers joined the denominations of their choice, and thus the various churches shared in the growth of the community.

Only recently has there been evidence of lack of satisfaction with the traditional order so far as churches are concerned. One or two groups, representing the more conservative types of religious interpretation, have organized churches which now have a small membership. They have not changed the program of established churches in any significant way. A majority cooperate in sponsoring Thanksgiving services and a daily vacation Bible school. Churches have not taken aggressive action in community programs for, as one minister stated, "there are many clubs and organizations in the community that take care of community projects."

The government of Mohawk was typical of most rural communities in the central and western part of the United States. At the center was the incorporated village, and the trade area extended into all or parts of the surrounding townships. This network of local units is over-laid by county government. It thus becomes difficult, if not impossible, for the trade community to act as a legal entity in matters of common governmental concern. Since a considerable proportion of the population resides in the incorporated town, that unit was dominant in governmental affairs. In Mohawk, problems of adjustment centered around a change from a village to a city form of government. With the status of a city, certain advantages and privileges not granted to villages would be available. One advantage, for example, would be the annexation of adjacent territory by the city if it were approved by the voters in both the city and the territory to be annexed.

It is almost inevitable that both old-timers and newcomers would have opinions about an issue so important to the welfare of the community. The newcomers sought the advantages of a city form of government. They looked forward to improved streets, an extension of the water system into areas that would be annexed, and sewer and light construction in parts of the village that needed them.

Most of the old-timers, along with certain farmers owning land close to the village did not favor either the change to a city form of government or the proposed annexations. They feared higher taxes. How could it be otherwise, they argued. Improvements and services cost money, and the money must come from taxation. The newcomers argued that there will be more property to tax; that according to law, farm land must be evaluated differently than city property, and that improvements are necessary and worth what they cost.

When the election was held, the change from village to a city form of government was approved. At an annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce the mayor recommended the following improvements as soon as feasible:

Storm sewers; curbs and gutters in all residential areas; concrete asphalt paving for the heavier traveled streets and asphalt gravel surfacing for all residential streets; water extended to every street in the city area; a general garbage and trash pick-up without change to householders; sidewalk extension and repair in many areas; a new city hall and public rest rooms; and last, but most important, additional fire fighting equipment.

The health interest and standards of the community, judging by usual facilities in rural areas, were excellent. The community had six doctors of medicine, two osteopaths, and a chiropractor. It had excellent hospital facilities, and the public school had a health program which included planning health education and health service. Sanitation, however, was a problem. According to the local newspaper, "Mohawk was ordered to build a sewage treatment plant several years ago by the Michigan Stream Control Commission. About six months before the survey was made, the state threatened to take the village into court and force immediate construction, unless steps were taken to carry out the commission's order." Accordingly the voters passed a bond issue of $256,000 and in 1952 contractors were placing bids for the erection of the plant.

If a visitor in Mohawk were to ask about the adequacy of health facilities in the community, the informant would point with evident pride to the hospital. If the visitor saw the hospital he would surely agree, for he would find an unusually modern and well-equipped establishment. Its property value is estimated between $300,000 and $400,000. The hospital has a total of 38 beds, a modern operating room, research laboratory, and a complete X-ray department (with the exception of deep X-ray treatment).

On the qualitative side, the hospital is a member of the American and Michigan Hospital Association, a member of the American Medical Association Register, has provisional approval by the American College of Surgeons, is a member of the Greater Detroit Hospital Council, a participant in the Michigan Hospital Service, participant in the Emergency Maternal and Infant Care Program (which includes the approval of the Michigan Department of Health and the United States Children's Bureau), and has approval of United States Public Health Service and the Michigan Board of Registration of Nurses for a senior student nurse affiliation of three months in rural nursing.

The hospital has become a center for group action in relation to health, and many members of the community have become involved in health projects. These activities have brought old roots and newcomers together, thus favoring community integration and cooperation.

The foregoing account of Mohawk has been presented in some detail for it reflects the nature of community life in relation to such elements in the community as economic growth, education, religion, and health. It describes the way community life developed in one Michigan community which was fortunate enough to benefit from good farm land and by industrial development. The need for action and the elements of the community which were described are typical and tend to occur repeatedly in local communities adjusting to social change. The ways a community will adjust to changes, however, will vary, for they are dependent upon the particular community setting in which the action occurs.

Outlook for the Town Country Community

As previously stated the town country community is the most general type in Michigan. In 1950, it was estimated that there were 297 community centers in the state having a population of 500 or more (53). Some large urban centers were included in this number, but for the most part, the figure represents the town country type.

Social forces are favorable to the perpetuation of the town country community in Michigan. It seems that the effects of the automobile in influencing the growth or decline of town country communities have been fully felt. While there will always be changes to some extent, it is unlikely that changes in communities of this type will be as great in the next 50 years as they have been in the past 50 years. With trade relations somewhat stabilized and a population that is not likely to be subjected to extremes of either decline or increase, it seems possible that town country communities can go about the business of providing the facilities for a good community life in terms of education, religion, and health as well as in other matters of community concern. The principal exception to such a future would be communities within the environs of large cities. Here, the movement of people out from the city, and migration into the area are likely to create many problems in these communities. Such communities will be considered in the paragraphs which follow.

THE SUBURBAN COMMUNITY

Next in size of population, though not in point of time, is the suburban community. It is so designated because such communities develop in the fringe areas around the larger cities. They may be initially open country communities or town-country communities. What makes them suburban is the rapid growth in population and nearness to an urban center. This growth may come from migration out from the city or by the migration of people who come to the suburb from other areas, but work in the city. Or, as is usually the case, both sources contribute to the increase. An accurate count of the population which may be designated as strictly suburban has not been made. One reason for the lack of such data is that the designation of the suburban population is difficult to determine. At one extereme, it may be the residents in a rural area who work in the city. At the other extreme, it may be a rural trade center which has grown so large that it is classified as urban in the United States census. One indication of the growth of suburban population is the percentage the rural non-farm population constitutes of the total population. In Michigan in 1950, 24.7 per cent of the population of the state was classified as rural non-farm. This represented an increase of 6.6 per cent from 1940. The urban popula- represented an increase of 6.6 per cent from 1940. In 1960, 73.4 per cent of the population of the state was in urban areas. An additional calculation shows that 32.9 per cent of the urban population resided in central cities and 29.8 per cent in the urban fringe. Thus, the population of the fringe, which would be included for the most part in suburban communities, almost equaled the population of the central city (2).

The basic cause for the development of the suburban community is industrial development in the central city forcing residents to move out from the center. Industries locate in the smaller towns too, as was illustrated by the Mohawk Products Company in Mohawk, described in the preceding section. This is possible and desirable. However, industry in smaller communities usually does not develop to the point that suburban communities grow up around the central town.

From whence do the residents of the suburbs come? A study of the country-city fringe around a city which industrialized rapidly, namely Flint, Michigan, provides an answer (8). "This influx of new residents has of course come from all over the country, but two areas are especially represented: Northern Michigan and the lower Mississippi Valley. Naturally housing had to be provided for this stream of newcomers. But it was not available. Building could not keep pace with housing requirements. Real estate values became inflated to the point that renting or buying a house within the built-up part of the city was beyond the means of many working people. The only recourse for such people was to build homes of their own. Most of them located on inexpensive lots lying beyond the built-up parts of the city. Their taxes were low, land was cheap, and building restrictions were almost non-existent. The houses which these people built were usually inexpensive structures which in many cases lacked the facilities for wholesome living. Farms and country estates found themselves menaced by an encroaching blight. In the meantime, however, well-to-do professional and business people were also seeking suburban homes. They sought spacious yards, open air, and opportunities for leisure time gardening. These they hoped to find in the fringe areas, where they might be able to enjoy the advantages of both country and city."

The sentences just quoted were based on observations made more than twenty years ago. It is safe to say that conditions in the Flint area have greatly improved since that time as they have elsewhere in Michigan. Housing supply now more nearly equals demand, housing developments in suburban areas are much more systematically and scientifically planned and building restrictions and requirements now insure that dwellings will be adequate in terms of safety and sanitation.

The people who come to suburbs and thus create the suburban population exhibit special demographic characteristics. "They come to the fringe as family units. Secondly, the vast majority are young, not yet middle-aged and they have children. Third, most of them acquire a piece of land on which they build a dwelling, or buy land and house—they are property owners, not renters (35)." But beyond these characteristics the similarities end. The social divergencies are great. There are rich and poor and in-between. There are industrial workers, unskilled and skilled laborers, white collar workers and professionals. There are industrial and business managers and technicians. There are people from all levels of the economic, occupational and social scales. The heterogeneity is also revealed in religion and ethnic background (35).

However, in general, among the people who settle in the fringes to form the suburban community, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled workers and foremen tend to be most numerous. One survey of a North Lansing fringe area substantiates very clearly this statement. Data for the fringe area are compared with Lansing in Table 2 (3).

TABLE 2—Percentage distribution of male workers by major occupational groups for Lansing, 1950, and for the North Lansing fringe sample (3)

Occupational Groups	*Lansing 1950 Census*	*North Lansing Fringe*
Professional and Semi-Professional	10.9	0.9
Sales, Clerical and Related	17.7	8.7
Skilled, Semi-Skilled, Unskilled Workers and Foreman	53.3	72.9
Domestic and Service Workers	8.4	7.0
Self-Employed, Retired and Others	9.7	10.5
Total Per Cent	100.0	100.0
Total Number Reporting	26,334	115

This same survey also ascertained opinions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of living in the North Lansing fringe area. One hundred and thirteen persons were involved in this inquiry. They gave the following reply (3).

Advantages cited:

More space or space for garden	24.0 percent
Right kind of people	17.7 percent
More freedom, or away from city	17.7 percent
Better for children	11.5 percent
Lower rent, cost of land, or taxes	10.5 percent
Nearer to work or school	5.3 percent
Near to relatives or friends	4.4 percent
Like the house and/or area	4.4 percent
No special advantages	4.4 percent

On the other hand, about 80 percent of these informants mentioned disadvantages. They were:

Too far from town or poor bus transportation	33.6 percent
Poor roads	15.0 percent
Poor water, sewerage, lighting, or fire and police protection	8.9 percent
Dislike neighbors	8.9 percent
Poor shopping center	4.4 percent
Traffic speed	4.4 percent
Poor schools	3.6 percent
No special disadvantage	21.2 percent

Sufficient information has been presented to indicate that the suburban community is unique in many respects. It is a comparatively new development in most parts of the United States and hence patterns for the orderly growth of such communities are not readily at hand. There have been planned suburban areas by real estate developers and planning boards which include not only housing but shopping facilities as well. More often, however, growth tends to be undirected except as ordinances of town, township or county may control it.

Without planning many problems develop. Trade and service facilities tend to respond to demand. Thus suburban communities readily develop agencies of trade in convenience goods—goods which people frequently and regularly demand, such as groceries, drugs and various kinds of services.

It is in the area of government and municipal services that the suburban community most frequently experiences a state of confusion. The old or pre-existing governmental structure was made to meet needs of the people before the increase in population. Hence, neither the incorporated town, the township or county is equipped to offer the municipal services the suburban community needs. How to provide them is the problem. One solution often turns out to be annexation of the land occupied by suburban residents into the central city. Thus, problems of the suburb in providing municipal services become a responsibility of the central city. Or, if annexation to the central city is not feasible, then annexation to the nearest town or incorporation into a new municipality become the logical step. But such solutions will not be accomplished easily, for some residents will most likely oppose the move on the ground that incorporation will be too expensive, if not unnecessary.

Certain problems in education occur repeatedly in the suburb. It has been pointed out that one characteristic of the population in the suburban community is that it contains a high percentage of families with children who must attend school. The result is overcrowding of existing school facilities with the consequent need for more school buildings. This in turn increases taxation. The owner of large amounts of property frequently complains that they have to pay more than their share of school taxes, or to state the problem in another way, they maintain that the family having several children of school age and owning only a house and a small plot of land does not pay enough in the way of taxes.

An illustration of the school situation in the suburban community is provided by the Bedford Rural Agricultural School in Monroe County (Michigan) in 1948. "In the spring of 1948, there were 1351 enrolled students in the Bedford Rural Agricultural school, a consolidation of 10 districts achieved in 1946. The 1948 enrollment represented a 9 per cent increase since 1947 and a 22 per cent increase since 1946. Five hundred pupils were being transported to a partially used school in Ohio, the only available space for overflow. School authorities and citizens are aware that something must be done and a tract has been purchased upon which to erect new buildings, but problems of cost and taxation bulk are large in any plan which is developed. School expenditures for 1948-49 will approximate $250,000 of which only $40,000 was to be raised by property taxes (35).

It should be pointed out perhaps that migration into the suburban community is not the only cause for increased school enrollment, though it is a major factor. Another influence would be the high birth rate which occurred just after World War II. But the suburban community does not face its school problems alone for state agencies are also concerned. With such cooperation and assistance, suburban communities will find solutions to their school problems just as other communities have done.

In the field of health, the most frequent problem that occurs in the suburban community is sanitation. As dwellings increase in number, the problem of sewage disposal increases. Houses provided with septic tanks are satisfactorily cared for until the number of such houses becomes excessive for the drainage system. Then the community is confronted with the necessity of providing a modern sewage system with a disposal plant. This problem, in varying degrees, occurs in almost every suburban community that has a rapid growth in population.

Other phases of health care are less complicated for doctors tend to locate in the suburb if population warrants it or, if not, they are available in the central city. Likewise, hospitals exist in the central city. Public health activities are usually provided on a county basis by the county health department and the suburban community comes within the scope of the department.

In a survey of health needs and health care in Michigan, data based on a state-wide sample showed that the level of health care in metropolitan areas which included a high representation of suburban populations was similar to that in cities. The detailed data are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3—Percentage distribution of individuals classified according to individual levels of health care in designated sample areas of Michigan farmers

Per Cent Having	*No. Positive Symptoms*	*One or More Untreated Positive Symptoms*
Open Country	57.1	26.6
Village	54.1	24.3
Metropolitan	64.8	18.9
Urban	61.7	18.7

Source: (22).

Other phases of community life such as social organizations and churches usually go through a period of chaos as the suburban community develops. The residents of the pre-existing community have developed organizations and services suitable and probably adequate for their needs but they do not suffice for the new and increased population. Hence, a new set of organizations have to be developed which ideally will integrate the "old roots" and the "newcomers" into a harmonious working relationship.

Such integration is very difficult to achieve because, in most cases, the families with a long period of residence in the community will be oriented toward a rural or small town type of social organization whereas the newcomers will most likely be oriented toward an urban way of life.

For example, one study of the fringe area around Lansing showed that there was little family visiting among residents in the fringe. The residence of a best friend was most frequently in the central city (Lansing) (34).

It is difficult to bring these groups together in an organized cooperative relationship and therefore community facilities like schools and sewage disposal facilities are obtained only with long and consistent effort on the part of community leaders. It frequently happened that such a state of affairs continues until one group, either the "old roots" or the "newcomers," gets sufficient support to determine the course of community development. Since the suburban community is one that is increasing in population, the newcomers usually gain control.

Outlook for the Suburban Community

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the suburban type of community around cities will become more general in Michigan as industrial development proceeds. Moreover, modern means of transportation, particularly super four-lane highways, favor the development of suburban communities even a considerable distance from the central city. There is no basic condition which would prevent the development of a satisfying and effective community life in the suburban communities, assuming that the economic base is provided for, either in the central city or in the suburb itself. All the essentials for the maintenence of community life in terms of trade, health, schools, churches and recreation facilities can be provided.

THE URBAN COMMUNITY

The last type of community to be considered in the four-fold classification presented in the preceding part of this bulletin is the urban community. The term indicates that the center of the community is a city. In Michigan, for example, the larger cities, such as Detroit, Grand Rapids, and Flint, come immediately to mind, though there are many other Michigan communities which are urban centers. In 1960, 73.4 per cent of the population in Michigan was classified as living in urban areas. (That is, 73.4 per cent of the population lived in incorporated places having 2,500 or more in population.)

It should be pointed out, however, that 2,500 is an arbitrary number and not all communities having a center of 2,500 or more are urban in their economy or social organization. The distinction between urban and rural is a continuum from a completely rural to completely urban. The more the population increases the more urban in its characteristics a community becomes.

A community only gradually loses its rural characteristics as its population increases. A careful calculation of population of communities (trade center and trade area included) in Michigan, excluding Wayne County, produced the following results (53):

1,000 to 2,000	25
2,000 to 3,000	51
3,000 to 4,000	45
4,000 to 5,000	27
5,000 to 10,000	71
10,000 to 50,000	63
50,000 or more	15

The outstanding and universal characteristic of the urban community is a high density of population. Thus, a large number of people live in a comparatively small area. As a consequence, specialization in all kinds of businesses, services, and organizations is possible.

It will not be the purpose of this section to consider in detail the urban type of community. This decision does not reflect in any sense a lack of its importance. Its role in manufacturing, transportation, retail trade and specialized services in health, education, welfare and recreation has been demonstrated many times. The chief concern here is with the application of the concept of community as described in the preceding section.

If size of communities is considered as a continuum, then the open country community is at one extreme and the large urban center at the other. In fact, the urban community is so large and complex that it may appear on the basis of superficial observation that it is not a community at all like the town country community or the suburban community, but is instead a complex of specialized interests. Such a view, however, is extreme and is not substantiated by the actual situation. No matter how large the urban community may be, there are certain interests which are of concern to the entire area. To the extent that such interests prevail, a true community exists. An illustration of a community-wide interest would be industrial development, it being generally assumed that industrial expansion provides the basis for prosperity—more employment and more trade. The activities of the Chamber of Commerce and Community Councils (46) are good illustrations of efforts to promote this interest.

Another example of community-wide interest in urban communities would be the activities and services of government. There are many interests in this category. Only a few need to be mentioned by way of illustration: Police protection and law enforcement, sanitary and health regulations, building codes, street maintenance and traffic control parking facilities, welfare programs, recreation facilities such as parks and playgrounds, museums, and libraries. City planning also becomes a definite part of government service. It is concerned with the future growth and development of the community.

Closely related to the city and municipal government would be the interest in schools and education which are administered and developed by the Board of Education. The educational interest is essentially community-wide in scope and purpose, though the program and range of influence of a particular school may be evident only within a certain area surrounding it.

This latter statement suggests that within the overall community there may develop interest groups within certain areas of the urban community. These can be most accurately designated as sub-communities. Such sub-communities develop in different parts of the area included in the major urban community. They often have an ecological base in the sense that a cluster of business establishments, such as stores that offer goods and services frequently and regularly demanded, branch banks, postal stations and the like will exist. Sometimes other community services such as a school, church, or branch library will be found near such a shopping center. Occasionally this local interest is expressed in an organization to develop the area. Examples would be a north side commercial club or a south side community club.

As a specific example of an area which in some respects is a sub-community is East Lansing. There are doubtless many other examples in various parts of Michigan, but East Lansing is fairly typical. In most respects East Lansing is an independent community. It has several types of trade agencies and its own Municipal Government providing all the necessary government services including parks and a recreational program. It has an independent school system, a public library and churches. It is, however, a part of the Lansing community for electrical, gas, daily newspaper, telephone, train, and airplane service. General hospital service is provided by hospitals in Lansing. Also, certain types of businesses, as for example, furniture stores, are located in Lansing.

Sometimes these sub-communities will be characterized by a nationality or ethnic group and thus the traditions and customs associated with that group will pervade the area. A good example of such a community in Michigan is Hamtramck, an incorporated area completely surrounded by the city of Detroit. In this area many people of Polish descent live and have perpetuated certain culture traits characteristic of this group.

The economy of the urban community with large stores and specialized services of all kinds seems assured. However, the suburban trend in both residence and shopping has reduced to some extent business activity within the central city since the use of the automobile has become general. Most large cities were planned and buildings built before the era of the automobile. Hence, adaptation of cities to this new invention has been very difficult. This situation is one reason why urban planning and urban renewal programs are so urgent at the present time. But assuming the great volume of activity in manufacturing, trade and services of all kinds which exist in the central city, the continuation of the urban community seems assured.

In the field of education, cities have pioneered in the development of modern school programs in terms of specialization and service to both the pupils and the out-of-school groups. Because the total value of property for tax purposes is comparatively high, schools in urban communities have usually been more adequately supported than schools in rural communities or in suburban communities.

The development and specialization of health facilities of all kinds reaches its highest point in the larger urban communities. There is in each city a large number of doctors and dentists, including specialists of all kinds. Hospital facilities are present and though they may not always be equal to the need, they more frequently meet the demands of the community than is usually true for the open country or town country community. Public health facilities and services are also highly developed. They include such programs as pre-school clinics, immunization campaigns, infant care, sanitation and health education.

The Michigan health survey showed that the urban population compared favorably with other segments of the population (open country, village, and metropolitan) in number of positive symptoms that were treated by medical doctors, in dental care, and in the number of persons who actually went to a hospital when they were so advised by a doctor (22).

Specialization in social organization is feasible in urban communities. Hence, health organizations reflect this fact. One study of voluntary health organizations in Lansing, Michigan (population 107,807) provides an illustration of this (24). A list of voluntary health organizations active in this community in 1959 follows: Dental Health Committee of Greater Lansing; United Cerebral Palsy Association of Lansing; Ingham County Tuberculosis and Health Society; Lansing Hearing and Speech Center; National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; Ingham County Chapter American Red Cross, Ingham County Cancer Society; National Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation, Ingham County Chapter; Ingham County Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Inc.; United Community Chest of Ingham County, Inc.; Greater Lansing Association for Mentally Retarded Children (Institutions group); Greater Lansing Association for Mentally Retarded Children (School group); and Muscular Dystrophy Association, Ingham County Chapter. In addition, there were three organizations supported entirely or in part by public funds. They were Ingham County Health Department, Ingham County Chest Hospital and Clinic and Lansing Mental Health Center.

The name of the organization shows to a certain extent the special health interest which the organization endeavored to promote through general meetings, lectures, exhibits, pamphlets, news items, movies and TV presentations.

It is of interest to note that the area of service was community-wide. Only two of the organizations restricted their activities to the corporate limits of the city of Lansing. Seven extended their services to the metropolitan area and six served the county in which Lansing is located.

The specialization that prevailed in health and health care is illustrative of that in other areas of social organization. Welfare activities are numerous and specialized; so are recreational and character building agencies. Churches also are numerous and many denominations are represented in the urban community.

The future of the urban community seems assured. Economic factors favor its perpetuity. Increasingly patterns of social organization are being developed to provide a healthful, stimulating and satisfying environment for the people. The movement to the suburban area may continue, but it will not permanently or completely deplete the central city in either business activity or population. Part of the movement to the suburb is due to lack of housing facilities in the central city itself. As housing facilities are improved and increased through urban housing projects, people will be less likely to leave the central city.

INSTITUTIONS IN COMMUNITY LIFE

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

IT IS AXIOMATIC to state that a community must have some kind of an economic base, or at least, the people composing a community must have a source of economic support. Without it they cannot exist. One is reminded in this connection of an Eskimo community whose economic basis is barely sufficient to maintain life. All the effort and time of people in an Eskimo community are used in getting sufficient food, clothing and other essentials for survival. The surplus is so meager that the fear of starvation is ever present. In contrast one might think of a community in a farming area in which soil and climate combine to produce abundant supplies of food for local consumption and a surplus for marketing. The contrast of the two communities just cited suggests that economic resources are essential for community life, although their utilization depends upon the cultural values and the social organization of the people.

The goal of economic activities in community life is the production of the maximum amount of goods and services. In practice, this means the discovery and utilization of natural resources, improvements of farm production in areas where agriculture is feasible and the development of manufacturing. Sometimes a community can provide for its economic needs by offering services of various kinds such as resort and recreation facilities or by offering specialized services as might be done, for example, in the field of health.

It is not likely, however, that every economic resource of a community will be developed to the maximum. Rather, the people will put their efforts into what seems to be most feasible and profitable to them. Thus such designations as farming community, coal-mining community or resort community indicate that such activities provide a major part of the economic basis of the community life.

When wealth is produced in excess of immediate economic needs, the surplus provides the possibility for improvements in the level of living and the cultural advancement of the people. It is unrealistic, however, to assume that these improvements will come about automatically. Many factors besides wealth production need to be considered. All factors affecting the distribution of wealth are relevant in this connection. Methods of taxation, desire for education and civic improvements as well as other values in the culture may be mentioned as examples.

Changes in the Economic Base of Communities

It is important to remember that the economic base of a community is not assured or permanent. It may change rapidly and almost certainly there will be gradual changes and fluctuations. An example of a drastic change would be the rapid decline of a mining community when the supply of ore becomes exhausted. If the supply of mineral is gone entirely or if it becomes unprofitable to mine it, the economy of the community declines. Communities based on coal mining provide a possible example. Also, certain communities dependent on copper mining in Northern Michigan furnish another illustration. In these communities the economy declined as the supply of ore decreased; unemployment prevailed and there was a decline in property values. If the mines ceased to operate entirely and no substitute source of economic support was found, the community gradually went out of existence. Some indication of this trend is evident in the United States Census figures for counties in which mining was the principal source of income. In Houghton and Keweenau Counties the population has shown a decrease each decade since 1910. With only a slight gain in 1930-40, Gogebic County likewise has had decreases in population. In Iron County a decrease of population has occurred each decade since 1920. Ontonogan County had decreases in 1940 and 1950 but a small increase was reported in 1960 (54). Community planning and the search for new economic resources is now in progress in many of the communities in these counties.

Communities dependent upon timber provide another example of an impermanent base. This was especially true in the early decades of the present century when the practice was to cut down the supply of usable timber and then move on to another supply. The economy of many communities in Michigan at one period in its history was based on the supply of timber that covered vast areas of the state. Now, except in areas where scientific forestry is carried on, the supply of timber has been exhausted for decades and the communities dependent upon timber have found other sources of economic support or have gone out of existence. Several have disappeared or nearly so, while others have continued to maintain the essential elements of community life, though the population may have decreased.

Cheboygan, in the northern part of the lower peninsula, is a good illustration of the latter type of community. The experience of this community appears to be typical of many in Michigan that flourished when the lumbering industry was at its peak. Like other communities, the economy of Cheboygan was originally based on an abundant timber supply. The high point of activity for this industry was around 1890 (11). At that time it was reported that "Three out of every five of the county's manufacturers are located within Cheboygan's limits and four out of five employees live and work in the city. There are nine sawmills and two shingle mills in Cheboygan and the total annual production of these exceed 100 million board feet of sawed lumber in addition to millions of lath and shingles. The smell of sawdust is in the air all over town."

It seems that the residents in Cheboygan in 1890 could not conceive of a time when the supply of timber would run out, preferred not to believe it. Nevertheless, the supply was eventually used up. The lumber business declined, and with it there was a downward trend in population from the population high of 6,235 in 1890. In the period from 1910 to 1920, a sharp decrease of 17.2 per cent occurred and from 1920 to 1930 there was another decrease of 12.7 per cent in the population.[3]

Eventually the economy of Cheboygan adjusted. In recent decades, it has continued to have a stable economic base. But the economic development of the community either in manufacturing or agriculture never reached the high point that was predicted for it in the "boom period of the 90's."

---

[3] The 1960 population for Cheboygan as reported in the 1960 census was 5,859. This figure represented a 3 per cent increase from 1950 to 1960.

There is no evidence in the history of the Cheboygan community that there was extreme disorganization as the lumber mills ceased to operate. The decline was gradual. To offset to some extent a loss of the lumber industry the community had even during the high point of the lumber manufacturing, two planing mills, a large brewery, a 250-barrel flour mill, two feed mills, a copper shop, three carriage and wagon shops, and a miscellaneous list of other shops and businesses (11). Today Cheboygan is a prosperous community whose economy is based on agriculture, tourist trade, and some manufacturing.

Communities whose economic base is agriculture have a common concern in maintaining agricultural output. In many parts of the world, the supply of agricultural products is insufficient for the needs of the people. In such underdeveloped areas great effort is being put forth to increase agricultural production.

Michigan has large amounts of good farm land, and climatic conditions which are favorable to the production of field crops, livestock, and fruits and vegetables. But the need for maintaining and increasing agricultural production exists. Soil becomes depleted, diseases and pests attack livestock and crops, and for products which are marketed, there are fluctuations in demand and price. While improvements in production are ultimately made by the individual farmer, the local community can assist in many ways. It may provide demonstrations and disseminate information about improved methods of agricultural production. In this connection, therefore, it seems feasible to consider cooperative agricultural extension work, as it has developed in local communities throughout Michigan and the United States as well.

Cooperative extension work in agriculture includes every phase of farming which is of concern to the local community. As research in agricultural experiment stations progresses, programs in land use planning, improvement and conservation of soil, seed selection, and insect and disease control of plants and animals all come within the scope of agricultural extension work.

Some years ago a study was made of the community situation as it affects agricultural extension work (20). The purpose of this study was to discover and describe the relationship of certain social factors in community situations to the success or failure of various extension projects initiated in the community by the county agricultural agent. Four communities were studied, two in each of two counties. The selection was made with the advice of the county agricultural agent with the objective of obtaining fairly comparable communities, except that in one, response to extension programs would be considered good, whereas in the other it would be poor.

After a considerable amount of study and investigation it became evident that the following factors were important in the community situation: community organization and morale, organization and morale among farmers, socio-economic conditions, leadership, civic boundaries within the community area and community conflicts.

It was evident from the analysis and comparison of the four communities that no single factor or circumstance in a community situation determines the responsiveness of farmers to agricultural extension programs. Responsiveness is determined rather by a network of social influences and circumstances among which leadership, organization and group morale among farmers are very important. These are affected in turn, by economic conditions and community organization (20).

It has been shown also that communities aid the agricultural Extension Service and hence the farmers in their production efforts through communication media of various kinds and by scheduling events which stimulate interest in agriculture. In one study in a Michigan county where general agriculture prevailed, farmers reported the sources of useful information as shown in Table 4 (18).

TABLE 4—Sources of useful information about farming reported by 112 farmers (18)

Source	*No. of Farmers*	*Percent Total*
Radio Broadcasts (mostly weather reports or market reports)	98	87
Farm Journals	94	83
Neighbors	92	82
Local Newspapers	88	78
Bulletins from Michigan State College	69	61
Calling at the Office of County Agricultural Agent	59	52
Conversation with Teacher of Vocational Agriculture	32	28
Attending Demonstrations Sponsored by Extension Service	30	26
Calling County Agent by Telephone	13	10

An example of how scientific agriculture benefits farmers, and indirectly, the community in which they live, is provided by an article in the Agricultural Experiment Station quarterly of the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station (31). It is reported in this journal that if farmers in Michigan would adopt practices which have proven to be profitable, the returns to Michigan agriculture would be greatly increased. In the case of corn, for instance, an increased expenditure of $16 per acre for fertilizer and improved practices would result in a $31 increase in gross returns and $15 in net returns. An average grower who makes improvements only in his production practices or in following fertilizer recommendations would increase net returns by about one-half the amount.

Marketing

Improved marketing facilities also provide economic gain for the community. This is true for all communities but is especially so in farming areas, for the problems in marketing agricultural products are varied and unique. They cannot always be produced in exact ratio to demand nor at a particular time and amount. Privately owned buying agencies such as elevators, creameries, and others serve the farmers of the community as a market facility. In many areas, however, these agencies have been supplemented by cooperative marketing organizations. Through these cooperative associations, farm producers can benefit in several ways, chiefly by sharing the profits or dividends on a patronage basis. Such organizations have existed in rural areas in the United States for many years. There were 9,650 farm cooperatives reported for the United States as a whole in 1959. Of this number, 229 were reported in Michigan.[4] The membership in these associations was estimated to be 193,460.

A study of all types of cooperation among dairy farmers in Michigan which was made available in 1956, reported a total of 216 organizations. The distribution of these organizations was not reported by communities, but it seems reasonable to believe that approximately this number of communities would be represented. One hundred and forty-six of these associations were concerned with increasing production. This included artificial breeding, dairy herd improvement associations, breed promotion and sales. Those concerned with marketing included cheese factories, creameries, milk hauling and a miscellaneous list of other activities (55).

It is not the purpose of this treatise to present a detailed discussion of the cooperative movement. It is sufficient to state here that a true cooperative will adhere to the basic principles of cooperative organization. One of these principles is democratic control. According to this principle, the members of a cooperative vote as individuals—the one-man-one vote principle. The second principle is paying the customary or ruling rate of interest on the money invested in the stock of the cooperative. This principle is based on the idea that the purpose of the cooperative is not primarily to make profit for the stockholders, but rather to benefit the patrons. Thus the logic of the third principle becomes apparent. The profits or dividends of the association are paid on the basis of patronage. For example, if one farmer sells 1000 bushels of wheat through the cooperative and the patronage dividend is two cents per bushel, he will receive dividends amounting to twenty dollars. On the other hand, a farmer who sells only 500 bushels would receive a patronage dividend totaling ten dollars.

---

[4] Bureau of the Census, Statistical abstract for 1961. p. 640.

Another means of increasing income through marketing activity is direct selling by producers to consumers. A clear example of this is the public market, where producers display their products and buyers come to make purchases. In some foreign countries, as for example, in South America, certain days are designated as market days and have many characteristics of a festival or fair. Such events have been in existence for generations. In the United States, the Municipal or "Farmers" markets which have been established in many of the large communities fulfill a similar purpose. Several Michigan communities have them. Producers and truckers offer produce and other items for sale. Consumers come to the market to look over the display and make purchases if they find what they want. A modern variation of this method of selling is the use of the roadside stand which producers use to display and sell products to travelers.

Improvements in Retailing

Due to competition and the profit motive which dominate the area of business, changes in retailing have come about rather gradually and generally in Michigan communities. The essence of this change is that, as the automobile and other means of transportation came into general use, farmers and other customers could travel to stores or trade centers which seem most desirable to them in terms of price and quality of goods offered.

The so-called home owned store in a rural trade center was a well accepted institution and many reasons were put forth in its favor, but when chain stores and greater specialization in merchandising came, customers patronized these. Customers will trade where they think they get the greatest returns in terms of price, quality and service. Improvement in packaging, storing and transportation of goods have also contributed to this change.

As a result there has been an increasing amount of specialization in trade and service facilities. This has had the effect of contributing to the growth of the larger trade centers and the decline of the smaller ones. As pointed out in the preceding part of this bulletin, a network of trade services is developing which includes trade centers ranging from small towns which offer "convenience goods" to the larger center offering most of the specialized services in trade and other needs which the people might have. Thus the classification of trade center on the basis of size; namely, primary trade centers, intermediate trade centers and terminal trade centers was made. Customers living near a primary center will patronize, on occasion, all three types of centers. Those living near the intermediate center will go sometimes to the terminal center. It is therefore not unusual for a family to buy groceries and hardware at one location, go to another place and banking or furniture and perhaps still another place for clothing. In general the more specialized the service, the larger is the population necessary to support it. Several years ago a study was made to determine in a general way the size a trade center, exclusive of trade area, needed for a particular service (27). The data regarding this matter are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5—Population of trade center usually required for a designated type of store

Type of Store	*Population of Trade Center*
Drug Store	500 - 1000
Furniture	1000 - 1500
General Store	500 - 1000
Grocery Store	500 - 1000
Hardware	0 - 500
Jewelry Stores	500 - 1000
Men's Clothing	1000 - 1500
Millinery	2500 - 5000
Meat Market	1000 - 1500
Dry Goods	1000 - 1500
Shoe Store	1000 - 1500

Probably changes in transportation and in methods of merchandising since the study was made have tended to make the size of the town required for a particular service larger rather than smaller. However, at least three-fourths of the trade centers in Michigan in the population group designated for a particular type of service had that type of service at the time of the survey.

Consumer Education

Another aspect of economic development of community life is consumer education. In practical terms this involves information about the selection, purchase, and uses of goods of various kinds. In a general way advertising contributes to this result. Although the purpose of advertising from the standpoint of the advertiser is to increase the sale of goods and services, there is emphasis on quality and price. While the quality and price advertised may not be the most suitable for some buyers, they, nevertheless, gain information from it. The increase in the number of goods and services offered for sale, the development of supermarkets, specialty stores and mass communication have contributed to an increase in the usefulness and importance of advertising. It helps people in the community to know what is available, how much different items of varying quality will cost, and where such goods may be obtained.

Consumer organization is another activity which contributes to the economic well-being of the community. This usually involves the organization of committees to collect and disseminate information about the uses and cost of different types of goods, especially food products. Consumer committees go farther than advertising in suggesting through newsletters and radio announcements the purchase of certain products which are judged to be good buys.

Organization for Economic Development

In many communities there are persons who are interested in developing the economic basis of community life. This usually means business expansion, increase in manufacturing, improvements in retailing and other programs of benefit to the community. To promote these objectives, organizations of business men have been formed. The most frequent organization of this type is the Chamber of Commerce.

A review of a random sample of annual reports or news bulletins from Chambers of Commerce in various parts of the United States shows that most of them engage in activities listed in the preceding paragraph. Additional topics which appeared frequently were taxation and tax regulations and legislative proposals. Often projects of general welfare for the community such as the improvement of community life and community planning come within the range of its activities. A March, 1957, bulletin for a city (pop. 15,000) in northern Michigan provides an example. The following activities appear in its April, 1957, bulletin: Organization of a tourist division; appointment of a committee on local government, membership, program of work, transportation, and tourist and recreation. Then follows a listing of businesses, a number of local news items, a list of coming events and tables of figures described as a business barometer for the city.

Summary

In summarizing the discussion about economic development of a community it is evident that ecological and social organization factors are interrelated. Ecological factors provide both the limitations and the possibilities for economic development. The development of these potentialities, whatever they may be, depends upon the people. What people will do in turn depends upon the values they have and how they organize to achieve them. Because of this, it is not difficult to find examples of communities which are comparable in their economic potentials, but which differ greatly in their economic development. With the increase of facilities for transportation and use of electric power and improved methods of production, it seems likely that social organization will become increasingly important in the development of the economic basis of communities of various sizes in all parts of the state.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

It is not possible to conceive of a community which has attained any degree of complexity without the benefits of government. Ecological factors such as natural resources and climate may furnish the potentialities for community life but social organization is necessary for its development. Government is an important part of social organization. A basic problem in community life is to bring the influences of an ecological nature and the organization of government into a relationship that will best facilitate the welfare of the people.

Due to the influences of both ecology and social organization the size of the community in terms of geographical area and density of population may change. Therefore it is difficult to organize a governmental administrative unit which will, or can meet the needs of a changing community. The ideal situation is one in which the governmental unit, such as a township or school district, is identical with the ecological community. Since the formation of a community area is not a matter of arbitrary decision or legal definition but a result in part of natural forces, this relationship seldom exists.

It is an inherent characteristic of the ecological community that it has *no centralized governmental authority*. The authority which such a community has is based on consensus of the people as expressed through public opinion and other means of social control. Failure to formulate a consensus and express it means that the community ceases to have control over its own destiny and that a part of the community composed of special interest groups will become dominant in governmental action. This situation may develop even though it is the purpose of government to promote the general welfare through regulatory services and such programs as education, health protection, welfare programs, roads and streets, municipal services and community planning.

The Organization of Local Government

The organization of local government from the standpoint of area has not followed a uniform pattern in the United States. In the South, where the plantation system tended to prevail, the county became the dominant unit of government and has continued to be up to the present time. In the New England states another plan, the town, which is similar to the township in other parts of the United States, was the prevailing unit of local (community) government. The town is smaller than the county in area and encompasses usually less than 36 square miles (the size of a township), whereas several hundred square miles may be within the borders of a single county.

The Town

As settlers came to the United States each unit of local government emerged in response to the prevailing ecological circumstance. In New England, the farms were small and isolated settlements were dangerous, if not impractical. It was logical for people to settle close together in an area. This made the town the most feasible unit for the organization and administration of local government affairs. These towns were irregular in shape and served the purpose of both the township and the incorporated town or city which developed in other parts of the United States.

The administration of government in the town was very simply organized. Control was vested in the voters who assembled in a town meeting to consider various matters of concern to the people. They chose a board of selectmen who had responsibility for the administration of the affairs of government. It thus seems clear that the unit of governmental administration and the local community were, for all practical purposes, identical. There were no disruptive influences of partial communities with different interests within the local area to complicate the administration of governmental affairs. Morever, population itself was quite homogeneous in terms of occupation and cultural hertiage.

It is interesting to inquire about the continuance and effectiveness of the town meeting as population increased and the demand for services of government became more numerous and complex. It seems that in all but the largest communities, the town meeting at which citizens attend has continued. Matters of concern to the people are considered, but there has been a shift to discussions of policy, with a tendency to leave administration and details to persons who are familiar with them; that is, to the selectmen and administrative boards (36). The town clerk has become in many respects an administrative official. In towns now having a population so large that a meeting of all citizens is not feasible, there has been a trend to adopt a modified town meeting plan by which a limited number of elected representatives consider general policies. Once these policies are decided, the administration is left to special committees, commissions or boards.

With the increase in population and modern means of transportation and communication, there has come a diversity of interest in the towns. Variation in cultural heritage and diverse experiences of the people are largely responsible for this change. Agreement on general policies tends to be more difficult to obtain and the correspondence between the local government and the community is less definite.

But the town unit of governmental organization still remains in some of the New England states.

The Township

It is logical to find that a pattern of organization similar to the New England town would extend to other parts of the United States. The township, usually encompassing an area of thirty-six square miles, performed much the same functions for the community as the New England town did. Thus the township became the prevalent unit of government throughout the middle and western part of the United States. It served reasonably well the governmental needs which the people in a rural society had. The townships were vested with authority to levy taxes, build roads, construct drains, supply relief to the needy and, in some states, to provide schools, by serving as a school district.

Administration of township government was provided for through the election of a township trustee or supervisor who was assisted by an advisory board. In theory the township would be a nucleus of government which would serve the needs of a community, and at the same time provide a means for the participation of citizens in governmental affairs. How did the plan work out for the community interests of the present century?

It seems that in some instances when the community area happened to coincide fairly closely with the township boundaries the township did serve quite satisfactorily, but for a majority of communities, the relationship was not close. It might happen that the geographic center of the community would be located at the edge of the township or possibly it might be right on a township line, so that part of a community would be in one township and part in another. The boundaries of trade communities, township lines and incorporated places in Eaton County, Michigan, as shown in Figure 2, illustrate the situation (18).

When a lack of close correspondence exists between township lines and community boundaries, the possibility of getting governmental action for community needs, especially community improvements, is greatly decreased. Improvements which would benefit only residents at the center might be opposed by residents in the outlying part of the township. An example of a result of this situation would be the unsystematic and unplanned efforts in road improvement. In-

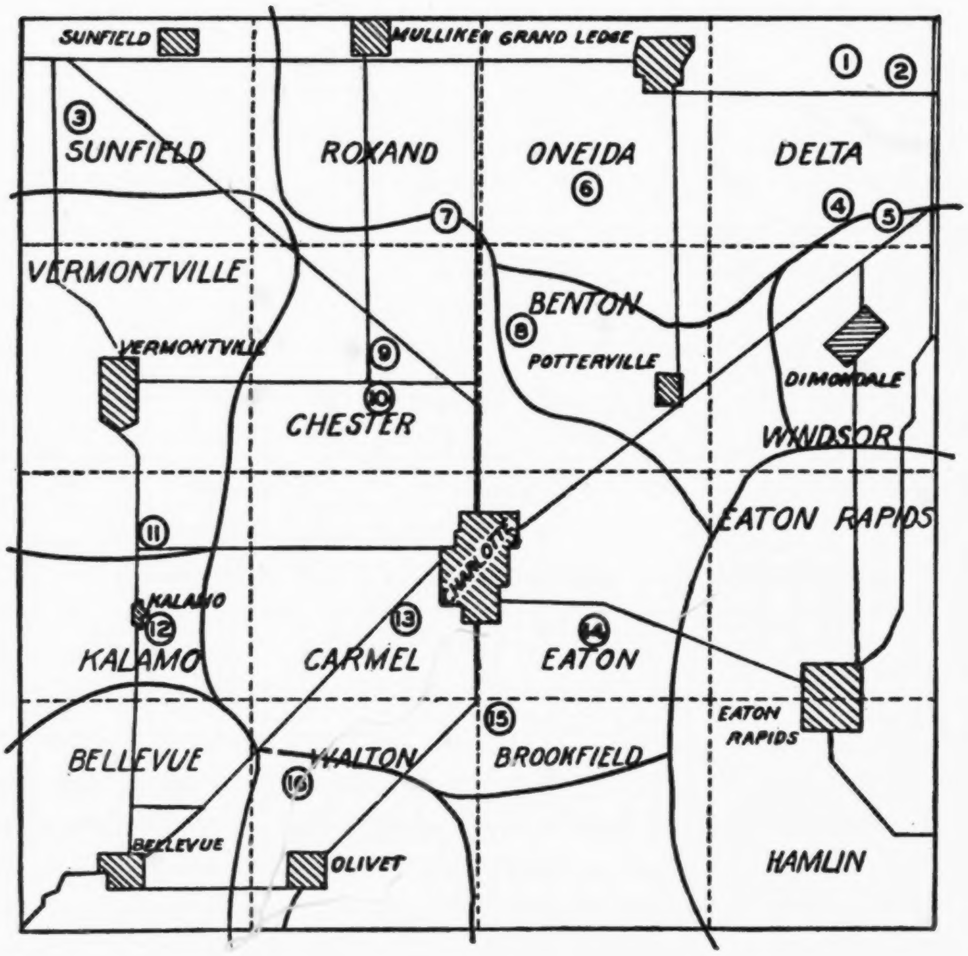

SUNFIELD
MULLIKEN
GRAND LEDGE
①
②
③
SUNFIELD
ROXAND
ONEIDA
DELTA
⑥
⑦
④
⑤
VERMONTVILLE
BENTON
⑧
POTTERVILLE
VERMONTVILLE
⑨
⑩
CHESTER
DIMONDALE
WINDSOR
EATON RAPIDS
CHARLOTTE
⑪
KALAMO
⑫
KALAMO
⑬
CARMEL
⑭
EATON
⑮
EATON RAPIDS
BELLEVUE
WALTON
BROOKFIELD
⑯
BELLEVUE
OLIVET
HAMLIN

Fig. 2. Approximate trade areas of the principal trade centers in Eaton County which were identified in 1945. Source: (18).

stead of a planned systematic development of roads in a township, there would often be disconnected units of improved roads.

The Township and the Incorporated Town

The incorporated town was developed as a partial answer to the dilemma just described. If the residents of a township at a particular location wanted improvements, why not let them incorporate as a legal entity? Then they could levy taxes to provide for whatever municipal services they needed. This proposal was provided for by law in many states and thus another unit of government smaller than the township became a part of the pattern of local governmental organization. While the formation of an incorporated unit provided a way to meet certain needs of a part of the community, it had a deterring effect so far as the total community development was concerned, because by this arrangement, the very center of the community was set apart legally from the area surrounding it. It tended to create a division between town and country which had effects far beyond legal matters. It meant, for example, that farmers in the community did not have a legal right in the town commensurate with those who resided within the corporate limits. This situation was well-described by C. J. Galpin, a pioneer researcher in Rural Sociology, when he stated that farmers in the town were aliens, but aliens with a possible title to be conciliated (10). They trade in the town and this relationship gives it a certain basis of support but the farmers can make no legal claim on the town.

The incorporation of towns tended to diminish the importance of the township. More and more, the activities of the township have been limited to the collection of taxes and assessments. At the same time centralization of governmental activities in the county reduced or eliminated entirely the activities of the township in road construction, provision of relief for needy families and the enforcement of quarrantine laws and sanitation. This trend has caused some people to advocate and predict the disappearance of the township, but such changes come slowly, if at all.

For people living in a township outside an incorporated town, the township is still a symbol of local government and local control. When a sample of 74 township supervisors in Michigan were asked in 1952 what was their conception of the main duties they performed their replies were as follows (38)

	Number of Times Mentioned
Assessment of Property	47
Road and Bridge Maintenance	24
Taxation Problems	25
County and Township Committees	19
Health and Welfare	12
Represent Community Whenever Necessary	11
Drainage Problems	7
Public School Affairs	4
Attend to County Business	3
Building and Construction	3
Listen to Complaints	2

Keep People Satisfied	2
No Main Duties	10

There is clear evidence in these responses that assessment of property and taxation are the principal concerns of these supervisors. It seems clear however, that the importance of the township in modern community life is diminishing.

Townships Near Large Cities

The only exception to the trend just described occurs in townships which are near the edge of a growing city. Often the suburban development will increase the population of these places and cause an increased demand for whatever municipal services they can provide. This situation, however, is seemingly temporary because, as population of the fringe area increases, the need for annexation to the city or incorporation as an independent town or city becomes evident. The township is not equipped with legal authority to provide for many services which the people need. The following quotation describes the problems of the township in which population has increased rapidly. "The basic problem, however, can be summarized by saying that here local officials are trying to meet the needs of congested urban-like populations with the governmental and educational structure and community facilities planned to take care of the needs of rural townships 50 years ago. The providing of such facilities as schools, fire protection, waste disposal, and water supplies, for example, is further complicated by the fact that there are many units of government on township, county, and state levels all attempting to do something, but none with the authority or resources to meet the needs adequately (50)."

It seems clear on the basis of current trends both in population change and in government services that the townships will not be a major unit of governmental service for the community, though very likely it will continue to exist for a long time.

The Incorporated Town

Since it seems unlikely that the township can be the governmental unit around which community activities develop, it is logical to inquire if the incorporated town can serve this purpose. Unquestionably it is the center for many activities, and being a legal entity, it can within the limits of its charter, provide for community needs. Consequently, many towns have community facilities such as water supply, sewage disposal, electric power, parks and playgrounds and others. In the larger towns and cities, these services can be obtained without undue expense to the individual taxpayer, but the smaller towns usually do not have any possibility of getting all of the facilities which are needed. Certain services must be provided by larger units of government so that the amount of taxable property involved is large enough to provide them the service without excessive cost. An illustration of the limitations of a small population unit would be evident in the support for a hospital because this service is expensive and requires a fairly large population base. At least 10 to 20 thousand persons are needed to have sufficient funds for a well-equipped hospital. Library service is much more adequate and less expensive if the taxable unit for its support is large. Although the school constitutes a separate legal entity, the school district for the town usually corresponds closely to the town corporation boundaries, unless consolidation with surrounding districts has occurred. Without consolidation many of these towns are too small to support a good school program. Thus the people in both the town and township are forced by necessity to look to a larger unit of government in order to provide many services without excessive cost.

Such shifts in community organization are not easily accomplished. People have loyalties to their local and customary units of government and consequently resist a sharing of support and cooperation with other units. All plans for the reorganization and expansion of governmental functions to a larger community base have to overcome the resistance which people have to making a change in their loyalty from the customary unit to a newer, larger unit.

A clear illustration of the difficulty just referred to is the incorporation of an area adjacent to a town or city, as was the case in Mohawk, which was described in the section on the town country community. Those favoring annexation want the obvious advantages of lights, sewers, and improved streets. Those opposing it fear higher taxes. School consolidation provides another illustration of resistance and the formation of a suitable hospital district still another.

The County

The next unit of government to consider is the country. This unit is larger than the town or township. Counties vary in size. Some in the western states will include several thousand square miles, whereas in the eastern part of the United States counties tend to be smaller. From 400 to 800 square miles will be the size of the counties in about half of the states (36). It is evident from these figures that the county would seldom be a community in the ecological sense. It is sufficient in area to include several communities.

It should be explained, however, that the county was not planned as a basic area for local community organization. Rather, it was designed as a convenient area with a government to carry out certain functions delegated to it by the state. These functions included the enforcement of laws, care of the poor, provision for roads, registration of land titles, collection of taxes and other services. Headquarters for the county were located at the county seat. The selection of a town or community for the county seat was in some instances a matter of great concern to the people in the county, especially if two communities competed for this distinction. The histories of some counties have vivid accounts of this competition for the county headquarters, and sometimes this competition continued long after the location of the county seat was no longer an issue.

Usually, however, a location near the center of the county was chosen, and it gradually acquired the characteristics of a "county seat" town; that is, a town which tended to be dominant in trade, in political influence and often in other business activities as well. Exceptions to this general situation are instances where industrial development has caused the growth of a town to the extent that the industrial town or city has more economic influence in the county than the county seat.

Increase of population and centralization of governmental activities have added to the usefulness and feasibility of the county as a unit of organization and administration of governmental services of various kinds. Illustrations are the development of county road systems, county agricultural extension services, county public health departments, and county libraries. A mere list of the county offices and the usual commissions and special agencies will serve to show the range of county activities.

Officials: County auditor, county assessor, county attorney, county clerk, county coroner, county recorder, county sheriff, county superintendent of schools.

Commissions: Road commission, drain commission, welfare commission, planning commission.

Special Agencies: Public Health Department, Cooperative Extension Service, County Library, other optional agencies and services.

The controlling body of the county is the county board of supervisors which has the responsibility for approving a county budget and county expenditures. The county board in turn is responsible to the voters of the county.

The increase in the importance of the county in recent decades is mainly that it is a convenient and effective unit of administration, and except in sparsely settled areas, where inter-county units can be provided, the county is large enough to provide for both a tax base and effective administration. Not only is this true of governmental activities but also for a number of voluntary organizations such as the Farm Bureau, the Grange, Public Health associations and medical societies. Also state and federal activities are organized on a county basis.

However, due to the nature of its origin and organization the county does not produce an integrated pattern of governmental operation and control. There is a tendency for each office to operate independently of others, though unofficial cooperation may occur and in a few instances the county manager plan has been adopted.

As the services of the county increase it tends to acquire some of the characteristics of community. The increase in the number of voluntary organizations on a county basis contributes to this. Nevertheless, a number of services of trade and social organizations provided by the smaller communities are not adapted to the county area. Hence it is probable that the county will remain or become a community only to a limited extent.

Citizen Reactions to Government

It is evident that the average citizen has identity or an official connection with a number of local units of government. He is likely to be a resident of a township, an incorporated town, a school district and finally a resident of a county. He tends not to think in terms of these units, however. He most often identifies himself with the legal units which most directly affect him, namely the town, township and finally, county. If a citizen resides in the open country he will likely be most closely identified with the township. If his residence is in an incorporated town he will be most loyal to that unit. Seldom will the county be so rated by the person unless he has a special or unusual interest in it.

It thus becomes clear that action for community development and community services through a political agency must somehow occur within a network of political units; township, town corporation, and county. It might seem that the logical procedure would be to adjust political boundaries to overlapping ecological community areas, but such a procedure is very difficult, and impractical except for specific community services such as a school, a hospital, and municipal services like water supply or sewage disposal. Moreover, the boundaries for various community services do not remain stable. They expand or contract with population increase, road improvements, and facilities in trade and service offered by the trade agencies in the community.

The diversity of community areas and the relationship of the individual to them contributes also to a lack of interest which many citizens have in local political affairs. The political interest is only one interest among many which people have. For example, one study of the interests of people in local affairs, as reflected in local weekly newspapers showed that the political interest was eighth in a list of twelve subjects. It was preceded by neighborhood news, personal items, agricultural topics, school news, church news, civic and patriotic affairs and announcements of various kinds (30).

To the extent that they do exist, political interests tend to divide along occupational and cultural lines. For example, a laborer confronted with low wages and uncertain employment may feel that a community to which he belongs scarcely exists, unless he is obliged to call upon its welfare agencies for assistance. Only in recent years, it seems, has the labor group in general become more aware of the importance of political affairs at the local community level. Likewise the business group tends to become actively interested in the political aspects of community life only when they relate to business affairs.

There still exists to a considerable extent the theory of individualism in relation to political matters. This makes effective political action for community development difficult. Adherents to the doctrine of individualism do not carry their theory far enough to realize that it would be advantageous to participate in political affairs, at least to the extent of voting, even though the connection between the act of voting and the benefits to be derived from it are not always direct or definite.

This general lack of interest has left the way clear for individuals with a personal interest in political affairs at the local community level to control and manipulate them in ways which will be to their advantage. Such individuals have sometimes been designated as the "courthouse crowd." They tend to make a career in politics, and given a particular set of circumstances, they behave in one way, and under another set of circumstances, they will behave in another way, which may be contradictory to a previous course of action. It is safe to assume, however, that such individuals would prefer to promote the welfare of the community rather than follow some other course, but they must have a good "political" reason for doing so. This circumstance makes the participation of all citizens of the community in political affairs necessary if good government is to be consistently maintained.

Since the politicans have had considerable success in controlling the political affairs of the community, individuals not belonging to this group have become skeptical of politics and political activity. Such an attitude is quite prevalent in some communities and makes improvement difficult, even when sponsored by the political group itself. Many people are suspicious of any change in government organization lest it may further entrench politicans. A corollary attitude, therefore, is avoidance of political activity. This attitude explains in a large measure the apathy of many citizens to political affairs in the community.

It is possible that the situation just described is transitory in nature. The role of government in community affairs is certain to increase as population increases and people demand more services of government. With the increase in services there will likely come also changes in administration designed to increase efficiency of service. This will involve a consolidation of administrative activities in sparsely settled areas such as the shifting of responsibility from township to county and in some instances the organization of counties into districts. Such changes come slowly, however, and not without opposition. The distinction between administrative responsibility and the policy determining function of government is not always clear. People fear that if they relinquish control over administration they will also lose power to determine policies but this result is not necessary or inevitable. People lose control over the policy-making function of government when they cease to think and vote on issues pertaining to government. This principle applies in local communities as well as in state and national affairs.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The Public School

It is characteristic of culture in the United States that education shall be encouraged for all the people. The goal is to make it possible for every child who is physically and mentally able to attend a public school at least through the eighth grade and preferably through high school. In recent years some communities have added the opportunity to attend a junior college.

It is unusual for a community to exist without a public school. A school not only provides opportunity for young people to learn, but it also often becomes the center for many activities related to the interests and needs of adults. Perhaps more than any other institution in the community, the school is responsive to needs, pressures, and values of people in the community.

That a school should exist in a community dedicated to the purposes of education seems obvious enough. Difficulties arise, however, when a school becomes large and thus needs more financial support than a small community area or school district can provide. Ecological factors and social organization are interrelated in school district organization and support. Consequently, these factors are involved whenever the school becomes larger and more specialized, or when the boundaries of the community change.

Ecological Factors in School District Formation

The original and prevailing pattern of school organization in the United States has been the one room school which served an area of four square miles. Thus, if all parts of a standard-sized township containing thirty-six square miles were inhabited, it would probably have nine one room district schools. These schools offered instruction from the first through the eighth grade and often served as a center for neighborhood activities. The schools were established by law and were not primarily the result of neighborhood effort.

As time passed, two factors tended to make the one room district school an unsatisfactory educational unit even for the elementary grades. One circumstance was the decrease of population in many rural areas. Farms became larger, so often a smaller number of families lived in the area of the school district. Also, the families that did live in the district had fewer children. Thus the total number of pupils in many rural schools decreased to a point where it was not feasible to operate the school. Another influence was the desire for high school education which could not be provided by the one room district school.

These influences became so great that, by 1920, the practice of closing the one room school and sending the remaining pupils to another school, usually one at the community trade center, was fairly common. Sometimes the school was closed for only the higher grades, but even so, the partial offering of the one room school was inadequate according to modern standards. In Michigan in 1957, for example, it is reported that rural children in some 500 school districts are unable to secure any education whatsoever in their own district because the school electors chose to close the school completely and purchase education for the children in other districts, usually a 12-grade district instead of a neighboring elementary district (52).

As just indicated, pupils from a closed one room district were usually sent to a larger school which was located in the trade center of the community. Seldom did the parents wish, or the school board approve, the payment of tuition to a school located elsewhere. But this practice had defects from the standpoint of both the receiving district and the one sending the pupils. For the latter there was the obvious advantage of less expense in paying tuition than to provide buildings and teachers in their own districts, but residents in the sending district would have no control of or representation in the school their children would be attending.

On the other hand, the tuition paid to the receiving district was insufficient to equal the full cost of the education of the pupils coming from outside the district. While such tuition pupils contributed to a larger enrollment for the school, they constituted a financial liability. In fact, receiving pupils from a closed district on a tuition basis created a crisis in many communities, especially if additions to existing buildings had to be made or new buildings built in the receiving district. The movement of population into suburban areas in recent decades tended to increase these difficulties.

Consequently the school boards in many receiving districts, usually schools located at the trade center of the community, were forced by circumstances to adopt a policy of not accepting tuition pupils from closed districts. The closed districts were urged to consolidate with the receiving district and thus, in effect, to bring about a degree of consolidation on a community basis.

In many parts of Michigan and in the United States such mergers were accomplished with the result that greater educational advantages were provided for the children. In a few places dissention arose, for the residents in some of these districts were reluctant to annex with the larger district or to build their own school. When annexation did occur, however, the people in the annexed district gradually identified with the new school district community.

Studies of over 100 extensive school district reorganizations made recently in Michigan show that on an average eleven primary (one room) districts consolidated with a 12-grade district. In each case, the country residents and the village residents voted separately on the proposal to consolidate. Thus the fact that both units voted favorably indicates a general recognition of the problems and of the mutual interests of both the town and the country residents. In a study of the voting in 35 of these mergers it was found that in general the percentage voting "yes" was somewhat higher in the towns or villages than in the country, a difference which may be expected. The people in the rural districts would be voting their district out of its independent existence, and at the same time, would be assuming their share of responsibility in supporting the larger district. Their favorable vote, therefore, indicates that those residents, usually in rural or suburban districts, placed a high value on education, and that they want a school organized and administered as much as feasible on a community basis.

The United States Office of Education has set certain standards which may serve as guides to the formation of school districts. It is maintained that a junior or senior high school should have at least 300 pupils and a minimum of ten teachers. Such school districts would require approximately 6,000 inhabitants.[5] It is obvious that most school districts in rural and semi-rural areas cannot meet or approximate these standards unless a village or town and the area surrounding it consolidate into a single district.

There is ample evidence that the larger school district has many educational advantages which the smaller one room school does not provide. Table 6 shows some of these differences (52).

It is evident from the data in Table 6 that in almost every item the larger schools have the advantage, not only in finance, but also

---

[5] Your School District. Report of the National Educational Association, 1948.

TABLE 6—Relation of 12-grade school districts and their communities to size of high school enrollment (9 to 12)

	High School Enrollment				
	Less than 100	100 to 199	200 to 399	400 to 799	800 and Over
Number of 12-grade districts	(88)	(136)	(157)	(104)	(49)
			PER CENT		
Member of North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools	1	7	38	82	100
Accredited	43	87	99	100	100
Has general adult education program	8	15	27	67	96
Member of Michigan Secondary School-College Agreement Program	13	25	48	60	76
Approved by Michigan D.P.I.[*] for reimbursement of tuition for nonresidents	60	92	99	100	100
Has Citizens' Advisory Committee	33	57	71	72	76
Has Dept. of Vocational Agri.	8	47	59	42	29
Has 6-3-3 type of organization	0	0	25	12	51
State equalized valuation per school-age child is $9000 or more	18	12	13	26	55
State equalized valuation per membership child is $9000 or more	20	18	18	35	71
Community has bank	24	61	82	83	92
Community has daily or weekly newspaper	17	51	76	78	94
Community has movie theater	19	43	71	80	96
Community has doctor (M.D.)	26	68	91	89	98
Community has dentist	9	29	76	85	98
Community has none of five basic services	47	18	7	1	2
Community has all five basic services	2	15	61	70	88

[*] Department of Public Instruction.

in terms of educational standards, adult education and citizen advisory committees.

There is evidence also in the table that, along with the larger school, other community services such as a bank, newspaper, movie theater, and a doctor and dentist are present in the community because the shift to the larger center has occurred among these services as well. There is a tendency for the various services including the school to supplement one another in both educational and community development programs. The more interests and activities the people in a given area have in common, the stronger the sense of community becomes.

Community Relationships of the School

Once the school as the educational institution in the community has become organized and financed, questions concerning what it shall teach becomes a matter of major concern. It might seem as though it would be more logical and simpler to leave the curriculum to specialists and experts in education and thus take care of the matter. But somehow this solution does not seem to be feasible or acceptable. Eventually people in the community become concerned and involved for they have ideas and opinions regarding what should be done. Since the school is both a dynamic and a democratic institution, it therefore cannot ignore the demands and pressures put upon it by parents and taxpayers.

From a broad sociological view of the curriculum, it may be stated that it has three basic functions. One purpose is to aid in passing along the cultural heritage from one generation to another, or at least that part of it which is thought to be important. The school does not have this responsibility alone, however, for other institutions and agencies like the church and family, and also informal groups, participate in this function. Moreover, they do not always agree in the objectives to be attained, or the method of attaining them. But the school has major responsibility in the process.

A second purpose is to aid in bringing about desirable changes in social relations. The third function is to assist the family and other institutions and agencies in the development of the personality of the child.

When the school begins to carry out these functions, some problems arise. Passing along the cultural heritage soon gets to be a matter of discussion, if not one of strong differences of opinion, among interested members of the community. Culture changes and as it does, so does the emphasis in the curriculum need to change. Some parts merit less emphasis or may be dropped entirely. Other parts (subjects) may need to be given more attention. To emphasize the new, if it is judged socially relevant, is one of the major contributions of education. But some people do not accept the new or believe it is relevant.

Should the curriculum specifically include what is symbolized by "Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic" and little else, or should it be concerned with social problems and social conditions? Is it right for a high school to include vocational training in agriculture, mechanical arts, and home economics? Should courses in typing and office work be offered? Is driver education a desirable course? These are questions which need to be answered. Who will make such decisions?

A mere listing of the more important changes in our culture will suggest how complicated the problem of curriculum planning for the school may become. Mass production in manufacturing has become general throughout our society. Agriculture has become more scientific, specialized, and mechanized. Automation has displaced many workers.

Changes in transportation and communication have largely eliminated the isolation and to some extent the autonomy of the local community. The pupil of today will be living in a different world tomorrow. Inter-community influences affect the work opportunities, the aspirations and hopes of the people.

The various means of communication and the increasing complexity of modern society have made it possible for special interest groups to develop. Each of these groups in various ways tends to exert pressure on the school according to their view of what the school needs to do. Business and trade associations, farmers' organizations, labor unions and other groups have a potential if not active influence in community life. They have supplanted to some extent direct action by people in local community groups to gain the benefits or protection they desire. A recent report on a survey of adult education, for example, shows that the personnel of the school tends to use farm organizations, parents' organizations, civic clubs, and churches and religious organizations as agencies of contact in the community.

The School Board as an Agency of Control

Somehow ways must be found to interpret, analyze, and evaluate the various pressures and issues which impinge upon the school. In The United States the device utilized for this purpose is the school board. According to true democratic practice members of the school board are regularly elected to represent the people of the community in the determination of policies and, in a general way, the programs of the school. Administration of these policies and programs is another function and is the responsibility of paid employees such as the superintendent and teachers.

Members of the school board cannot, without impunity, make arbitrary personal decisions which are markedly in contrast to public opinion. They must be cognizant and, to a certain degree, responsive to the power structure of the community. Power structure is a term which essentially implies that certain individuals and groups have a dominant influence in decisions affecting the community. Differences in theory and programs may arise among competing power groups or individuals and ultimately many of these are decided by school elections in which different candidates supporting different points of view stand for election.

It is evident from this discussion that the focal point for all of these pressures and the mediating of competing pressures is the position held by the superintendent of schools. He, more than any other individual, has the responsibility of interpreting the school program and improvements in it to the school board which, in turn, aids in interpreting it to the people in the community.

Once the school board is elected it must keep in close contact with different segments of the community so that their attitudes regarding school matters may be expressed and considered. This need is fulfilled in many communities by the organization of citizens' groups. The best illustration of this is the parent-teacher association, though other names such as citizens' council are sometimes used.

The parent-teacher group (or similar organization) provides a link between the school and the community. Both parents and teachers may be members and its program of activities can be as varied as the community life itself, though naturally there is a tendency to focus attention and activities on programs which relate to the education and welfare of pupils. Examples of such programs are health of school children, school lunches, recreation, parent-education and other similar activities.

The Community School

In a certain sense, every school is a community school. It is supported by the community, which expresses itself through the school district, and it strives to serve the community by educating the pupils. Moreover, it assists in various degrees with other activities of interest to the community. What is meant by the term community school is that the school puts an unusual and comprehensive emphasis on community relationships and community development. In terms of relationships, the school emphasizes community living for the children. This involves the use of community resources for teaching, whenever possible, and the development of programs to improve the local community. Proponents of this point of view have much support in edu-

8

cational and sociological theory for, to a considerable extent, the local community is a replica of the larger society in which the pupil must live (14).

In relation to community development, the school provides a meeting place for community groups of various kinds and encourages them to use the school facilities. In many communities, the school building becomes the center for many kinds of activities. Another function of the community school is to encourage adult education.

It would seem therefore, that a school dedicated to the community school ideal would always be striving to develop relationships with the community. If the school were located in an agricultural area, then courses in vocational agriculture would be taught. Likewise, manual arts would be offered in many communities, and courses in vocational home economics generally would be taught.

An Example of Community School Effort (49)

The idea that the school can serve as a focal point for community development was tested experimentally in a research project entitled "The Michigan Community School Service Program." The research which was carried on from 1945 to 1953 was designed to test the proposition "that a local school system, well-organized, well-led, and well-supported, and, working in cooperation with other agencies, can by means of its services and executive energies contribute significantly to the goodness of living in the community (49)."

The project was initially carried on in five town country communities and, subsequently, in a small city and in the area of trade and service surrounding it. In these experimental communities the people "brought together through educational activities their resources—natural, human, technological, and institutional—and applied them to their local problems in health, recreation, agriculture and other aspects of community life (49)."

The plan of organization consisted essentially in bringing the representative citizens of each of the various communities together and explaining to them the purpose of the project and, in general, the plan of research. The citizens in each community were to decide what they wanted to do, and would be encouraged to do it with their own leadership and resources. Assistance from state agencies would be limited to routine services which they might provide for any community.

It is significant that when leaders of the communities got together and began to think about the development of their communities, in each one there were several areas where improvements could be made. These included almost every aspect of community life. For example, home and family living, health, the farm, and land use were stressed in every one. It is significant also when annual reports were made that the communities listed numerous projects which were being carried out. For one of the years a project was active, sixty-six reports were listed. The titles for two projects from each of the five communities will indicate the nature of the program. The titles are: Handicraft Program, School Fund Drive, Industrial Survey, Agricultural Conference, Health Center, Community Library, Community Choir, Establishment of a Playground, Truck Driver's School, and Baby Sitter Instruction (49).

Certain techniques were found to be especially helpful. One was the committee plan of organization. As the various communities worked on the project, not only did the committee members gain an understanding of what they were trying to do, but they were able to explain it to others in a formal way as well as informally when they were talking with one another. Leadership training programs were also especially helpful, for through them individuals gained some idea about leadership responsibilities and how to carry them out. The services of the central staff were also helpful for they provided consultation services and were present to assist with many of the meetings.

These techniques are not unusual or spectacular. Their effectiveness has been demonstrated in many other communities in Michigan and in other states. They were well demonstrated, for instance, in Laurel, a community in Indiana. In this community, through consultation and encouragement by educators and their students from a college, the people themselves working through groups and committees were able over a period of years to change their community from a decadent one to one that was vibrant with activities for community development (5). Much the same result was obtained in several communities in Montana when the people formed study groups to analyze the assets, needs and problems of their community (45).

But to return to the Michigan School Community Service Project, some weaknesses in the procedure used in developing the programs were also observed. It became clear as the study proceeded that no definite plan for measuring progress was developed, though the fact of progress could scarcely be questioned. "The development within the school toward a curriculum, and quality of instruction in keeping with the community school concept was given less assistance and recognition than were the various projects carried on by the community committees (45)." In other words, the integration of the school programs with the service program was less complete than it was with projects not related to the curriculum. However, various teachers and classes did work on the projects that were sponsored by study committees. A third weakness, dependence of the program on a few strong leaders, is noted. Thus the goal to develop interest, initiative, and skills on the part of the people generally was not achieved to the extent desired.

Finally, certain "operation" principles emerged from the project. Briefly stated they are (49): (1) A community self-improvement program should be initiated through local leaders; that is, individuals who have influence and authority; (2) citizens interested in community improvement activities need some type of organization through which they may work. (The type of organization, however, should enhance, not overlap the functioning of service organizations already in the community); (3) leadership for local community improvement projects is usually developed through experiences gained by interested citizens where they participate in such activities as workshops, conferences, and field trips; (4) national, state, and local agencies can help local groups best by giving consultant aid in methods of identifying problems, and technicial assistance concerning ways to attack them.

The Michigan School Service Project has been referred to in some detail for it pertained to community situations which are typical of those in many parts of Michigan and in other parts of the United States as well. Always, it seems, if a school is effective in community development it must deal with the problems of concern to the people in the community. Sometimes a basic need will be economic improvement. In others it may be a health problem or a matter of road building, or need for a community playground.

The basic purpose of the school, it may be repeated, is education. But education occurs not only at the school, but in the home and in a community, both before the child goes to school, while he is in school and after he leaves. The need for learning persists, so the goal of the school is to make both regular classes and out-of-school activities educational. Such a goal cannot be accomplished by an edict or by rote learning. For "an educative community is one not filled with rote learning, but is one filled with action and change." Citizens are participators and contributors in these processes and thus they are participating in education.

Years ago when social conditions were seemingly less dynamic than they are today, a school might possibly have less concern about the community around it. Other institutions, such as the family and church, would supply information and values which sufficed. Today, such a situation is no longer possible. Unless the school is actively engaged in helping people understand their community relationships, not only is there the likelihood that people themselves will fail to be educated in the sense that they can live more effectively, but also the school itself may be relegated to a passive role in community life.

THE LIBRARY

The public library has a definite relationship to education. A majority of communities have this service though the library is not so generally established as the school. Laws do not require that all eligible residents have access to a library as is true for the school. Although book reading may be done for many purposes, one major purpose is to gain information which will contribute to and supplement formal education. Thus the library qualifies as an educational agency. In addition, reading may be done mainly as a recreational activity, or it may assist a person in the development of an avocational interest. This function is performed through the collection and loaning of books and other materials having cultural, educational, and informational value. Promotion of the use of the library by a trained librarian is ideally a part of library service.

The importance of the library is demonstrated by the fact that laws do provide for a library if the people acting through civil units of government care to appropriate funds for this service. In Michigan, these units include the township, the school district, the village, the city, and the county. There are also district and regional libraries but these represent combinations of civil units, usually counties.

Extent of Library Services

According to a directory of Michigan Public Libraries (39), a majority of the cities and smaller towns (designated as villages in the directory) have a library. However, unless a county has appropriated funds for a county library, there almost certainly will be parts of a county that lack this service. The tendency is for the library to offer services without special charge only to residents in the civil unit supporting it. Thus residents of a city would qualify as users of a city library, those in the village for the village library, those in the township for the township library, and those in the school district for a school library.

Some idea of the extent of library service in Michigan can be determined from the following Table (39).

TABLE 7—Statistics of public libraries in Michigan, 1959

Population of Supporting Area	*Number of Libraries*	*Population Served (Census)*	*Vol. Per Capita*	*Circulation Last Library Year*
Over 1,000,000	1	1,670,144	1.1	5,259,412
100,000 - 999,999	8	1,734,595	1.1	6,704,642
50,000 - 99,999	18	1,256,054	1.2	7,550,036
25,000 - 49,999	23	780,106	1.3	3,527,413
13,000 - 24,999	22	411,794	1.6	2,412,891
5,000 - 12,999	66	533,322	1.8	2,590,841
3,000 - 4,999	50	194,158	1.9	720,771
Less than 3,000	136	222,463	2.5	888,923
Total	324	6,813,563	1.3	29,654,834

The figures in this table are impressive for they indicate the extent to which the people in Michigan are using libraries. The total is 6,813,563. Population in Michigan is 7,822,194 as reported in the 1960 census. The difference between these two totals is 1,008,631. The latter figure represents the approximate number of people living in a civil unit not having public library service. This unserved population occurs throughout the state and includes some of the more prosperous and heavily populated counties, as well as sparsely settled areas.

Social Factors Affecting Library Service

"Numerous circumstances may cause the lack of a public library service in rural areas. The comparatively low density of population in rural districts is one important reason, though it is not the only one or an insurmountable one. Many rural persons have not been so concerned about libraries as they have been, for example, about schools or roads even though library service is much less expensive. Desire for a library and the habit of using it seem to be important influences causing people to take the necessary steps to make it available (25)." This is the explanation of the fact that many public libraries start in a very modest way and gradually expand until regular library service is offered. People in a community become accustomed to reading library books, and therefore, the demand for a library develops.

What, it may be asked, are some of the circumstances which are associated with the use of library service? A research study reported several years ago provides an aid in answering this question. The essential data are presented in Table 8 (25). It shows the relationship of certain social factors to circulation of library books. The data are compiled on a county basis.

TABLE 8—Median values of selected factors in Michigan counties grouped according to per capita circulation of public library books

	Circulation Per Capita	
	0 - 1.99 (39 counties)	2 or more (41 counties)
Density of Population	20.3	44.6
Level of Living Index	110.0	120.0
Percentage of first class land	11.0	22.0
Per cent of persons 16 and 17 years old attending school	65.4	71.2
Income per capita from one-half mill tax	$0.52	$0.59

Each of the factors presented in the table represent aspects of social and economic conditions in a community or county which are likely to be significant in determining the presence of library service. The importance of density of population and good land is readily apparent. The level of living index is based on rooms per person in occupied dwellings of the county, percentage of farms having automobiles of 1936 or later model, and median grade of school completed by persons 25 years of age and over. Attending school on the part of persons 16 and 17 years of age reflects in a way interest in high school and the income from a tax rate of one-half mill for library purposes (25). A positive relationship between these factors and use of library service is indicated. All of these factors, either singly or in combination, facilitate the development of a library.

The organization for library service is most crucial and difficult in sparsely settled areas. Small communities, even though they offer a library service consistent with their resources, cannot provide all the advantages in selection of books and the services of a trained librarian that are desired. There are small communities with small libraries or no library at all in almost all the counties of Michigan, even including counties in the more populous areas.

The County Library

The plan that is most successful in providing library service for all areas (communities) in a county is the county library system. This is a plan by which county tax funds in conjunction with other resources provide for the employment of a county librarian, books for distribution, and a bookmobile (or substitute), to furnish the transportation of books to selected places in the county. Such places may be small township or village libraries, or possibly some other convenient location in the community such as a store.

There were 27 county libraries operating in Michigan in 1959 (39). These were widely distributed over the entire state for the same circumstances which cause people to have a local community library tend to be effective at the county level. Hence included in the list are some counties with low density of population and at the other extreme many of the more populous counties. The population served by these libraries varied from 4,382 (Kalkaska County) to 707,057 (Wayne County). Volumes per capita varied from 2.8 (Kalkaska County) to 0.5 for Genesse County and St. Clair County. Likewise total receipts which include funds from local taxes and other sources (penal fines) varied from $4,205 for Kalkaska County to $598,699 for Wayne County (39).

Because the county (or in sparsely settled regions the regional library) offers the most feasible plan for providing library service to rural areas, there has been much effort put forth on the part of library specialists and other persons to get counties to organize and support county libraries. This effort has been somewhat similar, though less extensive, than the effort to have consolidation of schools in rural areas.

Social Control of the Library

The library is definitely a local community institution, and as such it is, like the school, subject to the control of public opinion which develops within the community. The library board, like the school board, is the official agency of control. Through it the opinions, pressures, and desires of the community are evaluated and integrated. The librarian, like a superintendent of schools, tries to interpret the needs of the community to the library board. Crucial questions are likely to arise in connection with the type of books to be purchased and circulated. Some members of the community will view with alarm the contents of certain volumes while others will enthusiastically approve them. Librarians usually try to get a balanced presentation of different points of view even though there may be some reluctance on the part of board members to purchase certain types of books.

Other means of communicating ideas in addition to reading books have now become general in modern society. Newspapers, radio, and television come immediately to mind. While it may seem that, with such a vast amount of information and entertainment continuously available, the desire or need for library service would diminish. However, the opposite result is more likely to be true. As the person comes in contact with various kinds of mass media, the tendency is to seek more information about subjects which interest him. Consequently, library service is likely to be demanded in the future as a permanent asset in the community.

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE

Another agency which has broad educational objectives at the local community level for both adults and young people is the Cooperative Extension Service. This service is a division of the state university and is supported jointly by federal, state, and county funds. It is the purpose of the university through the extension service to cooperate with the counties and communities of the state in developing and carrying forward a broad educational program inclusive of economic, cultural, social, and recreational needs of rural people.

The administrative unit for extension work is the county, but in actual practice, much of it must necessarily be done at the local community level, because the local community is the logical point for the organization of meetings for various kinds of projects. In the local community, people are usually acquainted with one another, to some extent at least, and are accustomed to meeting at convenient points in the community. Thus farmer groups, women's home demonstration groups, and 4-H clubs frequently meet at a convenient place in the local community area, though county meetings are also held.

But the community is more than a meeting place. It is a cluster of different interest groups which develop as a consequence of living in a contiguous area. Therefore communities in a county have interests, traditions, and values which vary so much that the probability of a program being equally successful in all parts of a county is not great. There are numerous social factors at the local community level which deter or promote a successful extension program depending on their nature and the way they may fit into the total community situation.

What is the nature of such factors? Several years ago an attempt was made to find out what some of the more important factors were (20). A questionnaire was sent to all county agricultural agents in Michigan and somewhat more than 50 per cent of the questionnaires were returned. On the basis of an analysis of the information contained in these questionnaires and from other sources, six factors were selected as a probably significance in affecting response to agricultural extension work. These factors were: (1) community organization and morale; (2) organization and morale among farmers; (3) socio-economic conditions; (4) leadership; (5) civil boundaries within the community; and (6) community conflicts. It was also thought that cultural heritage was an important factor in the acceptance or rejection of the agricultural program.

A survey was then made in four Michigan communities to determine if these factors either singly or in combination did indeed affect response to agricultural extension work. The communities were located in central Michigan counties. Two comparable communities were selected in each of two counties so that as many factors as possible, such as the personality of the county agent would be constant. The only differences sought between them was that one would, in the judgment of the county agent, be responsive to the agricultural program, whereas the other one would be noticeably less so and was therefore designated in the study as "unresponsive."

The results of the study of the four communities showed that each factor did influence the responsiveness to agricultural extension either positively or negatively depending upon the nature and the extent to which it was present (20). *Community organization and morale* particularly where such organization was attempting an integration of the interests of all and when farmers were represented; *organization and morale* among farmers; *socio-economic conditions*; and high quality and good quantity of well-organized extension centered *leadership* were all found to be positively related to the success of the extension program. *Civil boundaries* within the community were found to be influential only in situations where natural leadership was prevented from participation in extension in the community by the circumstance of legal residence. *Community conflicts* were found to be negatively related to the success of the extension program, particularly in situations where the conflict occurred between groups of farmers and where accommodation was slow. Though the factor of *cultural heritage* was not included in the study of the four communities, it was considered in another study and the results showed that cultural heritage of the people in the community is a significant factor. In the communities where culture was considered, it was found that a culture dominated by a conservative religious denomination (from the standpoint of change in social and moral relationship) did have indirectly a retarding influence on the acceptance of new farming practices which were approved by the Cooperative Extension Service (26).

An example of social factors in an unresponsive Michigan community follows (20).

The Sumpter Community

This community consisted of the trade center of Sumpter (population about 700), and a trade area extending in a radius of about five miles around the town, including parts of four counties. Except for a small manufacturing plant employing fewer than a dozen men, the community was dependent upon agriculture which consisted primarily of dairying and general farming, although onions were grown extensively on some farms.

The usual trade, transportation and service facilities were available. The legal school district included only a small part of the trade area in addition to the village itself. It had a large, comparatively new school building which served the entire trade area. There were three churches in the town—Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist, and one Methodist church in the open country near the outer edge of the trade area.

Community Organization and Morale

The principal group promoting integration was the community club. The leader of this group and the person responsible for its organization was a teacher in the public school. The organization endeavored to reach all interest groups in the community, including farmers, and monthly meetings were planned to consider matters pertaining to community welfare. Few farmers attended, however, with the result that the organization tended primarily to foster business interests. The parent-teacher association confined itself to educational matters and seldom went beyond this to promote other programs for the general welfare of the community. The local paper gave space to agricultural news. Merchants contributed prizes for the community fair sponsored by the Future Farmers of America.

Although there were some evidences of inter-organizational cooperation and favorable farm village relationship, the general morale of the community was low. There seemed to be little recognition on the part of businessmen and farmers that the success of one group was largely dependent upon the success of the other. Typical of this lack of communal feeling was the statement of one businessman who said, "We have not felt that it was a part of our duty to promote better farming practices among the rural people. If they wish to do so, they may. We do not feel it is our responsibility to attempt to focus their interests in any manner." Other businessmen seemed to feel the same way, even though the greater part of their trade came from farmers.

Organization and Morale Among Farmers

Except for a local unit of the Michigan Milk Producers Association, having approximately 90 members (about one-fourth of whom lived outside the trade area), no organization of farmers existed in the community. Even this organization was not particularly active and had not assumed responsibility in developing agricultural extension work. There had once been a Grange organization in the community, but it had a rather unhappy history and finally disbanded. Its last effort was a "love feast" financed from the sale of the piano which the organization had purchased, and which had been a cause of some of its difficulties. With a harmonious feeling present, the way was clear for a continuance of the organization, but there was not sufficient morale to make this course possible.

Other indications of low morale were noted. There was very little organized effort to improve agriculture. Activities that the county agricultural agent did promote in the area were initiated by him and had no definite sponsorship of an organization in the community. The attendance at demonstrations and meetings was small. There were no members of the county Dairy Herd Improvement Association in the community, although dairying was a major enterprise on many farms. Only a small amount of 4-H club work in the immediate vicinity of Sumpter was being developed.

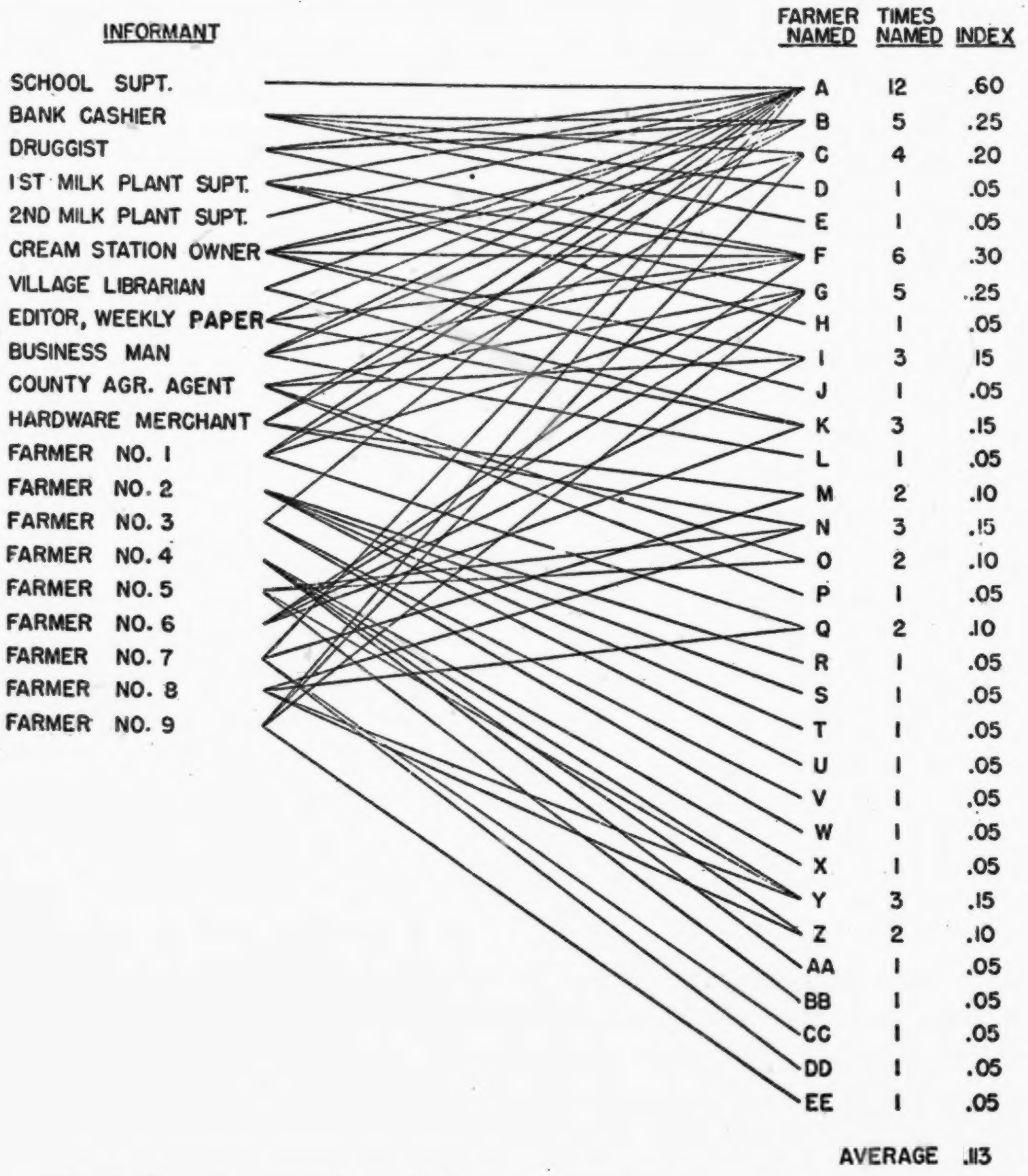
Socio-Economic Conditions

About 10 per cent of the soil in Sumpter township is classified as first class land. Sixty per cent is second class land, and about 30 per cent is third class land. First class land is that which during normal times and under intelligent management will return a profit. Second class land is in general marginal. It may be adapted to a purely subsistence type of farming, a home, and partial living for the family, to intensive farming for special crops on individual tracts, or to no present use, all depending upon location and other extrensic factors. Third class land is in general sub-marginal or locally marginal. The average size of farm was 124 acres, but only 40 per cent of the land was in harvested crops. Soil conditions in the community were somewhat less favorable than those in the remainder of the county and, hence, contributed to a passive reaction to suggested improvements which farmers felt they could not afford.

Leadership Among Farmers

The method followed in studying leadership was to ask both farmers and town residents, mostly businessmen, the names of farmers in the community they thought had influence in this group. The response to this question, it was assumed, would reveal the degree to which there was recognized leadership among the farmers. If certain persons were mentioned readily by different informants, this fact would indicate that the individuals named were leaders, for acceptance by the group is an indispensible characteristic of leadership. On the other hand, if a variety of names were mentioned, that would indicate a lack of recognized leadership.

One man, Farmer A, was named by 12 of 20 informants. (Fig. 3). Farmer F was named by only six informants, and Farmer B by five. Beyond this, informants tended to name different persons—usually, in the case of farmers, a neighbor, thus indicating that farmers frequently recognized their relationship to the neighborhood more readily than they did to the community. Moreover, the farmer who was named often did not live in the county in which the village and the major


INFORMANT
SCHOOL SUPT.
BANK CASHIER
DRUGGIST
1ST MILK PLANT SUPT.
2ND MILK PLANT SUPT.
CREAM STATION OWNER
VILLAGE LIBRARIAN
EDITOR, WEEKLY PAPER
BUSINESS MAN
COUNTY AGR. AGENT
HARDWARE MERCHANT
FARMER NO. 1
FARMER NO. 2
FARMER NO. 3
FARMER NO. 4
FARMER NO. 5
FARMER NO. 6
FARMER NO. 7
FARMER NO. 8
FARMER NO. 9

FARMER NAMED	TIMES NAMED	INDEX
A	12	.60
B	5	.25
C	4	.20
D	1	.05
E	1	.05
F	6	.30
G	5	.25
H	1	.05
I	3	15
J	1	.05
K	3	.15
L	1	.05
M	2	.10
N	3	.15
O	2	.10
P	1	.05
Q	2	.10
R	1	.05
S	1	.05
T	1	.05
U	1	.05
V	1	.05
W	1	.05
X	1	.05
Y	3	.15
Z	2	.10
AA	1	.05
BB	1	.05
CC	1	.05
DD	1	.05
EE	1	.05
	AVERAGE	.113

Fig. 3. Farmers named as leaders in Sumpter community. Source: (20).

part of its trade area were located. Although this farmer was accepted as a member of the community, sociologically speaking, he took no direct responsibility for agricultural extension programs, inasmuch as his affiliation with the work was in another county.

The farmer receiving the next highest rating was a resident of the community and county in which Sumpter was located, but he was not very active as a leader at the time of the survey. He had once been an officer in the Milk Producers Association, but had ceased to take a special part in it. He did not attend meetings of the community club, partly, he explained, because other farmers did not. Serving as a member of the school board was his principal community activity. Another farmer, who was mentioned by four informants, had recently agreed to act as leader of the 4-H club in his neighborhood. A third farmer living in the community was named five times, apparently only because he was regarded as financially successful, for he was not active in community affairs.

The conclusion that one reaches from such an examination of farmer leadership in the Sumpter community is that it is virtually absent so far as an aggressive program in agricultural extension is concerned. The physical location of the community accounts in part for this, but other influences appear to have been present.

Civil Boundaries Within the Community Area

The location of the community was not favorable to agricultural extension work because the trade area extended into four townships in as many different counties. Further evidence of the splitting of the community by county lines is shown by the fact that of the total enrollment in the high school, 31 pupils came from the county in which Sumpter is located, 17 from another county, 12 from a third county, and 30 from a fourth county.

Investigation showed that this division of the community area caused most of the farmers to limit their contacts with extension work to the agent in their respective counties and thus no unified program was developed within the natural area of their association, the Sumpter community.

Community Conflicts

There were no active conflicts existing between village and farm people. A few conflicts which divided the interests of residents along other lines had arisen from time to time but were not causing overt discord at the time of the study.

The building of a new schoolhouse in the village about ten years before the survey had been a cause of division of opinion. Three elections were held before the bond issue was approved, but no evidence of conflict remained. Apparently, the chief opposition to the school came from individuals who owned property in the district but did not have, and did not expect to have, children who would attend high school.

Within the farm group, as pointed out above, there had been a disagreement in the Grange which caused its dissolution. Although all indications of the original conflict seemed to have disappeared, it is significant that no attempt has been made to rebuild the organization or to form another to take its place.

Summary

A recapitulation of the factors as they operated in the unresponsive Sumpter community shows that (1) community organization was present but representatives of farmers were not participating and community morale was not high, (2) organization among farmers was practically non-existent and their morale was low, (3) socio-economic conditions were generally below the average of the county, (4) leadership was limited in quantity and quality and was not coordinated with the needs of the community, (5) civil boundaries within the community area were present in the form of county lines, and affected agricultural extension because the most widely recognized leader was separated from participating in it within the natural community because of these lines, and (6) community conflicts were frequent, usually occurring within the farmer group, and accommodation to these conflicts was difficult.

An example of social factors in a responsive Michigan community follows (20).

The Litchberg Community (Responsive)

The population of the village of Litchberg, located in the same county as Sumpter, was about 1,100 in 1930. The trade area extended outward in a radius of approximately five miles. Like Sumpter, its location was so near the county line that a considerable amount of trade came from farmers living in another county. Fifty per cent of the non-resident pupils in the village high school lived in the adjoining county.

The community was primarily dependent upon agriculture, the principal enterprises being dairying, fruit growing, and general farming. The village had the usual trade and service facilities. The Smith Hughes teacher in the high school was superintendent of the school (as in Sumpter). Inasmuch as the school was not consolidated, about half of those attending came from outside the legal area of the school district. Five churches were active in the community—Methodist Episcopal, Congregational, Free Methodist, Baptist and Christian Science, all located within the village limits.

Community Organization and Morale

A high degree of morale on the part of Litchberg residents was evident. A Citizens' Club, which endeavored to promote community welfare, had existed for ten years. All of the important interest groups were contained in its membership of 80, including about 30 farmers. A farmer was president when the survey was made and other farmers had held office in previous years. A Women's Club of 110 active members (of whom 27 were farm women) frequently emphasized the needs of the whole community in its weekly meetings. There was no parent-teacher organization in the community because residents seemed to feel that the Men's Citizens' Club and the Women's Club emphasized interests and activities that ordinarily would be found in the P.T.A. Inter-group cooperation was common. The village hall which had been donated by the G.A.R. was used as a community hall. It served a wide variety of uses. Here meetings for the Women's Club, the Citizens' Club, and the Grange were held. Desk space for the village officials and for the officers of Litchberg township were provided. As the building was not large, such intensive use of it was accomplished only through a great deal of cooperation on the part of all in the community. This friendliness and cooperation among the individuals and the various occupational and interest groups in the community furnished a favorable foundation for an effective agricultural extension program.

The three largest churches, the Methodist, the Baptist, and Congregational had a farmer membership varying from 25 to 50 per cent. Ministers of these churches stated that there was an unusual degree of harmony among members of the different denominations.

Although the local paper was not especially aggressive in its endeavor to promote agriculture, it did show a cooperative attitude in publishing a considerable amount of news material received from the county agricultural agent.

Organization and Morale Among Farmers

In contrast to the Sumpter community there were active organizations among the farmers. The Grange, which had existed for many years, had about 100 members and an average attendance of 25. Sheep raisers owned cooperatively a dipping tank. A considerable number of farmers were members of the Michigan Milk Producers Association, although the local unit was not maintained in the immediate trade area but in an adjoining community where a fluid milk plant was located. The Farm Bureau had very few members in the community. Many farmers expressed the opinion that the purpose of the Farm Bureau was largely economic and they felt no need to compete with the business people in the village. No Farmers' Union members lived in or around Litchberg.

The classes in vocational agriculture in the high school gave instruction to 35 students and a Future Farmers' of America organization was active. The school sponsored annually a community fair and a parents' night. 4-H club work among farm boys was being encouraged by the school superintendent.

During the previous year, three meetings were held in the community by the county agricultural agent. Upon request of the operators, 40 visits to farms in Litchberg township had been made in the previous year by the county agent, whereas in Sumpter township only eight visits of such a nature were made.

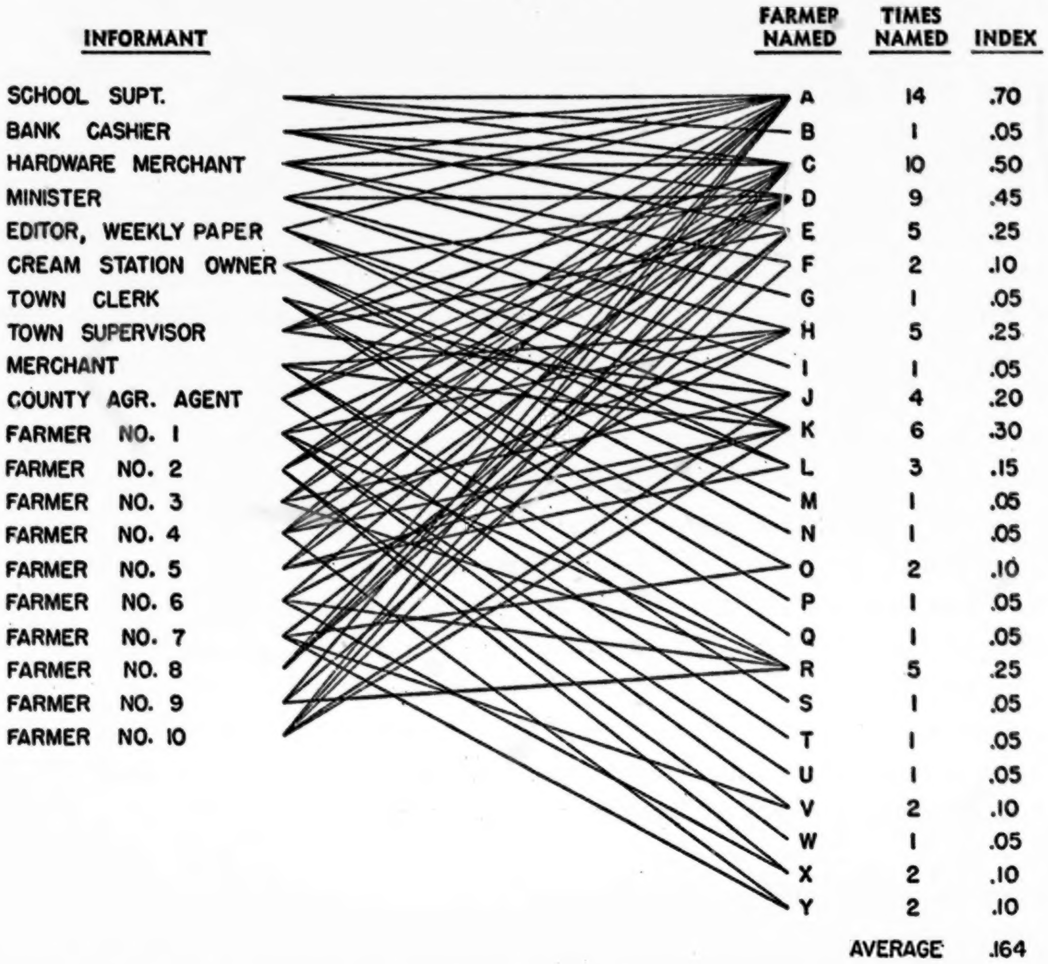
The presence of these farm organizations and the cooperative attitude generally prevalent in the community of Litchberg tended to create a high degree of morale among the farmers—a setting in which an extension program could function effectively.

Socio-Economic Conditions

The land in this community was well suited for farming. The average land class rating for the township was 1.4. Such a rating indicated that the land in ordinary times and under normally intelligent management could be farmed profitably. In contrast to Litchberg, the average rating for Sumpter township was 2.2, indicating that the land was considerably less desirable for farming purposes. The Litchberg percentage of land in harvested crops was 51, whereas the corresponding figure for the county was 49, and for Sumpter township, 40. One acre of land in Litchberg township produced an average of 1.15 tons of alfalfa as compared with 0.82 in Sumpter. Soil conditions in Litchberg were favorable to the agricultural extension program being carried on in the county.

Leadership Among Farmers

When asked who the farm leaders in the community were, businessmen and farmers alike responded without hesitation. Moreover, there was a considerable repetition in the names which were mentioned, indicating that the community had well recognized leaders. (Fig. 4).


INFORMANT
SCHOOL SUPT.
BANK CASHIER
HARDWARE MERCHANT
MINISTER
EDITOR, WEEKLY PAPER
CREAM STATION OWNER
TOWN CLERK
TOWN SUPERVISOR
MERCHANT
COUNTY AGR. AGENT
FARMER NO. 1
FARMER NO. 2
FARMER NO. 3
FARMER NO. 4
FARMER NO. 5
FARMER NO. 6
FARMER NO. 7
FARMER NO. 8
FARMER NO. 9
FARMER NO. 10

FARMER NAMED	TIMES NAMED	INDEX
A	14	.70
B	1	.05
C	10	.50
D	9	.45
E	5	.25
F	2	.10
G	1	.05
H	5	.25
I	1	.05
J	4	.20
K	6	.30
L	3	.15
M	1	.05
N	1	.05
O	2	.10
P	1	.05
Q	1	.05
R	5	.25
S	1	.05
T	1	.05
U	1	.05
V	2	.10
W	1	.05
X	2	.10
Y	2	.10
	AVERAGE	.164

Fig. 4. Farmers named as leaders in Litchberg community. Source: (20).

Fourteen of the twenty informants named Farmer "A" as one of the most influential persons in the farm group, giving him a leadership rating of 0.70, and six of the informants mentioned him first on their list. Farmer "C" was named by 10 informants and Farmer "D" by 9, giving them leadership indices of 0.50 and 0.45 respectively. Several other persons were named, but usually only by one or two informants. The three most frequently named leaders were considered by the county agricultural agent as men of influence in the farm group, and individuals upon whom he relied to help carry out the extension program of the community. This correspondence between the opinion of the county agent and that of the residents of the community is significant, for by appealing to these three leaders, the county agent could reach indirectly the entire group. They were its natural leaders and any program which these men endorsed would be likely to receive the support of other farmers.

Civil Boundaries Within the Community Area

The village was so near the county line that part of the trade area extended into an adjoining county. This division of the community, however, had no discernable effect on the organization and morale of farmers. It seemed to be regarded as an incidental fact, for their interests and activities were definitely identified with the local community. None of the important farmer leaders named in the Litchberg community lived across the line in the adjoining county. The result was that all of the persons who would be most likely to stimulate interest of their fellow-farmers in agricultural extension were so located that they were on the mailing list of the county agent and would be aware of all meetings in the village and the rest of the community. The farmers in the adjoining county who were members of the Litchberg community were important but not essential to a successful extension program. If any of these men had been leaders among the farmers, the success of the extension program in the Litchberg community would have been affected inasmuch as they could not have been reached by the county agent.

Community Conflicts

Antagonism and conflicts very seldom occurred. A possible conflict situation developed when the Grange established a cooperative store to sell feed, coal, and other supplies. However, the amount of sales was small, partly owing to price competition by private dealers and partly because farmers and businessmen were apparently so friendly that they continued to deal with each other. About a year before this community was visited, the store sponsored by the Grange had closed, but without loss to the stockholders and patrons. While this cooperative effort met with some of the usual resistance on the part of private enterprises, no serious rifts occurred to affect the community morale later. The only conflict of any magnitude found, which might have involved the farmers, occurred about eight or nine years prior to the survey. The township supervisor objected to the agricultural extension program because he thought it was too expensive. He maintained that the farmers in his area did not want the extension work and that the agricultural teacher of the school agreed with him. This, however, turned out to be a misrepresentation of the attitude of the farmers and the teacher. No evidence of the trouble remained.

Summary

A review of the factors in operation in the responsive Litchberg community shows that: (1) Community organization was present and active, farmers were well represented, and morale was high; (2) organization among farmers was ample and effective and their morale was high; (3) socio-economic conditions were consistently above the average of the county; (4) leadership was plentiful, of apparent good quality, consciously accepted by community residents, and interested in extension work; (5) civil-boundaries within the community area were present in the form of county lines but did not affect the agricultural extension because all farmer leaders were on the village side of the boundary; and (6) community conflicts were infrequent, were usually farmer versus villager, and accommodation was facilitated.

The foregoing discussion of the social factors at the local community level which affects the effectiveness of the agricultural extension program provides ample illustration that such factors are important. Though the survey which provided the basis for these conclusions was made several years ago, there is no evidence at hand to indicate that the influence of the local community has materially decreased. It is true that in recent years farming has become more specialized and mechanized and many farms have become larger. To some extent these changes may cause special interest groups to be useful agencies for the promotion of extension programs. But special interest groups will not replace the importance of the local community (considered a clustering of interest groups arising in a consequence of residence). Rather the special interest groups which may have members residing in different communities will be a potential source of contact for extension work in addition to the local community.

THE CHURCH

The important function of developing the religious life of the people is allocated to the church. From the standpoint of the local community, the church may be regarded as a social institution which has this responsibility. The principal way in which it performs this task is by the interpretation and explanation of the principles of religion, in most instances Christianity, in terms of the people's experiences and "felt" needs. Preaching a sermon is the clearest example of this function, though it is supplemented by ritual, music and other forms of art which develop and direct emotional response.

Another important way in which the church carries out its function is by encouraging education in relation to the nature, history and purposes of religion. This is done through teaching of both young and old. The best example of this effort is the Sunday school or similar endeavor. Finally, a third role of the church in community life is to demonstrate by putting into practice in the most feasible ways the principles of the religion in the local community. This means the development of programs to meet the most urgent needs which can be met by efforts of the church. In one community, this need might be a recreational program for young people. In another community, older people may need a special program, whereas in still another, some feasible way to help people improve their level of living would be the most urgent and logical program for the church to sponsor.

It is assumed in thus outlining the role of the church that religion is a basic element in the culture of the people. It is comprehensive in scope and provides the most complete integration of human experience that it is possible for the human being to make. All aspects of life from the beginning to the end are included. In the final analysis, no aspect of life is without religious significance. Somehow the various experiences that people have must be interpreted and integrated in a consistent and meaningful manner. Other institutions in the community may have a part in the development of this process, but primary responsibility for it belongs to the church.

The Organization of the Church

It is a basic belief in the United States that religion shall not be organized and supported at public expense, i.e., by tax funds. This condition has left the way clear for groups to organize voluntarily and support programs dealing with religion. As a consequence, many denominational groups developed in the United States and tended to establish churches in the newly settled areas of Michigan and in other parts of the United States. As soon as a few dozen families settled in a neighborhood, they tended to form an organization and build a church. Usually these churches were located at a center where a store or school house existed, but sometimes they would be built at some other convenient location. Frequently too, a cemetery would be organized and would be located in a place near the church. These practices account for the fact that in rural areas today, one frequently sees a church building—often empty and deserted—and a cemetery near by. Changes in rural life such as the decrease in population, growth of towns and villages, and the advantages of larger church congregations have been responsible for these unused churches. There are, of course, open country churches still in existence, but they are located where the membership is sufficient. Thus they continue to exist.

Those churches which were established in the villages and towns fared better than open country churches. The town was the center of community activities. It seemed advantageous to establish the churches there, and many were built. Each denominational group preferred to establish its own church, and many succeeded. There is ample evidence of this, as one can observe, in the smaller towns in the United States, especially in the Middle and Mid-Western parts. Many of these churches still exist as active organizations. It is not uncommon to find two or three or even more churches in a town having only a few hundred people.

The result of this tendency was and is for many rural communities to become, as the saying goes, "overchurched." These churches are characterized by small congregations which are unable to adequately provide financially for the church or to carry on a varied program of activities. Even to have funds for the support of a full time minister is often impossible. The Department of Town and Country Churches of the National Council of Churches has recommended that the ideal ratio between number of churches and number of people would be one unified evangelical church program for each community of 500 to 1,000 population (12). It is clear even from casual observation that the ratio between number of churches and number of people in the community is much lower than one church per 500 to 1000 population in many communities.

This standard seems so logical and reasonable that one may wonder why it is not readily met. In other words, why is there a rural church problem at all? Two circumstances provide in a large measure the explanation: (1) a strong emphasis on a denomination preference, and (2) sentiment for a particular church. These problems have confronted forward-looking church leaders and lay members for years. A number of solutions have been proposed and tried. Seemingly the most logical course to follow would be to close the churches which are too small and encourage their members to join another church. But such a move often meets with much resistence. Members of families that have been associated for a long time with a particular church organization and even a particular church edifice have strong emotional ties regarding it and do not want to have it closed. Though other churches, even of the same denomination, would welcome them, they still resist joining another church.

The Larger Parish

One way of meeting the problem is to form what is frequently designated as the larger parish plan. Actually this term, larger parish, is general in nature and applies to any one of a variety of plans whereby small churches usually of the same or similar denominations in a local community area or in nearby communities form an organization for greater service. It is essential that representatives of the cooperating churches prepare a constitution outlining their plan of cooperation and form a council to represent them. Then these churches, through the council, employ staff and provide equipment for the larger parish program. They also contribute toward the expense of the program (6). Data are not available to show how the larger parish plan has been adopted. In some respects, it represents an arrangement so ideal that many churches are reluctant to join in a larger parish plan even if there are enough churches within a reasonable area to make it feasible. Without the larger parish plan the small church has no other recourse except to continue on an inadequate basis or to close entirely.

Another arrangement which is more frequently used than the larger parish plan is for two or even more churches to share in the support of a minister. The minister then tries to serve as best he can each church. He may hold services at one church in the forenoon and at another in the afternoon or perhaps church services may be held in one or more churches on alternate Sundays. A major disadvantage of this is the fact that the participating churches would not have the full time services of a minister.

The Community Church

Another plan which has gained considerable popularity in many communities, especially in town-country communities, is to form a community church. This type of church may come into existence in various ways. One way is simply to have a church which has denominational affiliation give strong emphasis to a community program. Another plan is for a church to serve the community without having any formal ties with a denomination organization. A third plan is to have a federated church. In the federated type of community church, two or more denominations join together in one organization for the purpose of local church activities while each denomination maintains an official relationship with the church. Thus it becomes an interdenominational church.

The distinctive characteristic of the community church, regardless of whatever plan of organization it may have, is community service in terms of meeting the religious needs of the people in the community. The plan is clearly most feasible in the smaller communities in which it is impossible for two or more churches to have enough membership and support to carry on effective programs. In the larger, more populous communities there are enough people to support more than one church, so the effects of strong denominational preference and allegiance are less serious from the standpoint of the community though they may be held just as tenaciously by the people. In the larger urban communities the problem of over-churching seemingly does not exist. Whenever a group of sufficient size and religious preference can be brought together, they may form a church.

Proof that many churches are established in urban communities is readily available in the long list of churches in the church directories in the larger communities. Two factors seem to account for the existence of these churches. One is ecological in nature and the other is cultural. The ecological factor influences or largely determines the location of the churches at convenient points for the membership. Consequently, churches are built in the sub-communities of the large urban area. In other words, they are built out in the areas where people can conveniently reach them. They are often located close to suburban shopping aras, schools and playgrounds.

The cultural factor influences the kind of denomination preferences the people in a particular area will have. A good illustration of this influence would be a foreign or ethnic group. Such groups usually prefer a denomination indigenous to their culture. As these groups increase in number in a community, so does the number of churches.

The Role of the Church in the Community

It was pointed out in the beginning of this section that one function of the church is interpretation of Christianity and that this is done mainly through preaching in connection with the church service. This function is unique to the church for it is assigned to no other institution or agency in the community. How well or effectively it is done depends upon the education and the ability of the minister to point out the relevance of Christianity in the daily lives of the people. Though not all members of the community will attend church services, the impact of such services is tremendous in terms of the accumulated attendance. For example, a number of years ago a record was made of all meetings in ten town-country communities in which attendance was voluntary (thus eliminating attendance at public schools). The results showed 47.1 per cent of the total accumulated attendance in all communities for the period of one year was accounted for by church services (17). Though this survey was made several years ago, there is no evidence at hand to indicate that there has been any substantial decrease in the attendance at church services. Perhaps one way to gain some comprehension of the importance of church services would be to try to imagine what it would be like if none were held in a community for a period of one year.

A second function of the church organization is to provide for religious education. Again this function, like preaching, is allocated to the church and is an indispensible part of perpetuating religion and religious values into the culture. Like church services, the accumulated attendance at Sunday school meetings over a period of time is, in comparison with meetings sponsored by other institutions and organizations, very important. In the study of the ten communities just referred to, Sunday school attendance for the period of one year accounted for 19.5 percent of the total accumulated attendance (17).

Besides church services and Sunday school, the church sponsors a number of other meetings which provide both instruction and/or social contacts for the people. Often local residents participate. A partial list of such activities would include dinners of various kinds, book reviews, recreation and meetings of informal groups. It is for these purposes that frequently the church will provide for a "social" hall or even a community building where meetings of various kinds may be held.

Demonstrating the principles of Christianity is an important role of the church. It makes the religion seem more vital to the people and promotes human welfare at the local community level in various ways. There are many and varied needs in every community. It is a problem of the church leadership to select those projects which are most urgent and feasible for the particular church or group within it to work on. At one time a general and feasible project was extending aid to the needy. This need still exists, though with the development of welfare programs of various kinds which are supported by taxation, the extent of the welfare need has diminished somewhat. Another need is to provide social contacts for people under congenial and comparatively informal conditions. Like welfare, this need has always existed, but unlike welfare, it has increased in recent decades as mechanization and mass communication have increased. These developments have reduced the opportunities for informal contacts in connection with work and recreation. It is for this reason that gatherings sponsored by churches are so important. Any activity that makes life more wholesome and meaningful which is not being developed by other institutions or agencies in the community is a logical possibility and opportunity for the church.

It should be explained that in thus advocating programs which help to meet the needs of people in the community, there is not intention that these activities should become an end in themselves. If so, they would be futile, for the church would fail in its ultimate purpose. Always these activities are sponsored as a demonstration of the purpose and meaning of the religion which the church tries to develop.

Financial Support of the Church

Since the separation between church and state is so definite in this country, there is no provision for support of the church and its programs from public funds, i.e., taxation, as is true in the case of the public school. All financial support for churches must be obtained by voluntary contribution. This is both a problem and a challenge to church organizations. In the usual situation, however, the needs of the church for various programs are great and contributions in relation to needs are small.

This continuous need for funds causes church organizations to repeatedly appeal for support both through systematic contributions and by special gifts. Also various projects to raise funds are sponsored. They include bazaars, dinners or other methods for getting money. What methods will be used depends to a considerable extent upon the preferences of a particular church group and its leadership. Even though comparatively large sums of money may be raised, it is quite likely that the total amount for all churches in a community will be considerably less than the amount spent for some other institutions, such as, for example, the public school.

The point to be made in this connection is that community influences and customs are very important. Recognition and concern about needs of the church by the people are in part a matter of the traditions which have been developed in a community. It has been observed that amounts contributed for church purposes will differ considerably in communities having approximately equal resources. In some communities, the people will give sizable portions of their income to the church, whereas in other communities a much smaller proportion will be forthcoming. A generous contribution for church purposes of all kinds in proportion to income represents a deep committment and realization of the importance of religion on the part of the people.

HEALTH

Health is a basic social value. Though it has many aspects which are individual in nature, the promotion and conservation of good health is dependent upon community organization and community services which protect and promote the health of the people. The basis for health is in part an inherited characteristic, but its conservation depends in part upon community relationships. These relationships may be divided into two categories. The most common and generally recognized involves the treatment of illnesses by doctors and, if need be, care in hospitals. This aspect of health care is prevalent and well accepted. The other aspect is best illustrated in a general way by public health programs of various kinds which involve prevention of disease, sanitation, and the promotion of good health habits. This is a newer approach to health care and therefore is less well understood by the public and less generally developed at the community level.

The Organization of Health Services

The most general type of health service is that which is given by doctors, represented most often by the general practitioner or "family doctor." As soon as the country became inhabited to the extent that settled communities were formed, the general custom was for a doctor to establish a practice there. He was the main source of medical information and service to the people. He often was not only the medical authority and advisor to people in the community, but also performed the role of a family counselor. Hospitals were not numerous and were avoided as much as possible by the people. Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of the twentieth century and for some time after that period.

Soon after the first decade of the twentieth century, some changes began to occur which greatly affected health services. One was the general use of the automobile by people in rural communities. Another was the decrease of population on farms and frequently in small rural villages. A third change was the general improvement and specialization in medical training and practice and more frequent use of the hospital as the hospital became more necessary in the treatment of illnesses. People began to think of hospitals more as an aid in treatment of illnesses and less as a place where one might go to die.

These changes caused the number of doctors in the smaller communities to decrease. Often in a small community, no one would replace a doctor who had been practicing there throughout his professional career and thus the community would be left without a doctor residing within its boundaries. This change often caused a sense of loss and frustration on the part of people in these communities. Frequently they tried to induce one to establish a practice in their community by offering quarters for office facilities or by other means. Sometimes these efforts were effective, but despite such endeavors, many small communities were not successful in getting doctors to reside in their community area. Some research findings dealing with the distribution of doctors in Michigan make this situation very clear. Between 1930 and

1950, the number of persons per physician increased from 1,292 to 1,728 in the 22 entirely rural counties of Michigan and from 857 to 903 in the 61 counties with both rural and urban populations. Seventy of the 297 communities have only one physician; of these, 50 had two or more physicians in 1925. Fifteen communities have no full time physician at present (1950); of these, 12 had one or more physicians in 1925. Shortage of physicians exists in 76 percent of the communities without general hospitals and in only 55 percent of the communities with general hospitals (53). The trend of physicians to leave small communities is clear and irrevocable. The old pattern of one doctor, presumably a family doctor, residing in the community clearly is disappearing. Is a new pattern emerging?

The most definite answer that can be given to the foregoing question is an affirmative one. Now with the use of the automobile, it is possible for a family to go as far as 25 miles to see a doctor in as brief a period of time as it used to take to go to the nearest trade center with a horse and buggy. At the more distant trade center where one or more doctors reside and which is likely to have a hospital, the family can, and usually does, establish contacts with a doctor which resemble but do not duplicate the old-fashioned family doctor relationship. The ratio of 1,000 persons per physician has been suggested, though frequently the ratio will be as much as 1,500 per physician. For the entire state of Michigan in 1950, however, the ratio was one doctor for each 919 persons (53).

An Example of Medical Care in a Community Not Having a Physician (21)

The community chosen for study was Pellston, Michigan, a rural community in Emmet County in the extreme northern part of the lower peninsula. Pellston is located about twenty miles from Mackinac City, Cheboygan and Petoskey. Cheboygan and Petoskey are fairly large trade centers and each one, in addition to medical doctors, has a hospital. No doctor resided or practiced in Pellston at the time a survey was made in the community, although a doctor did carry on a practice there until about five years previously. The estimated population including the trade area was 1,500 in 1949. The economic support of Pellston is agriculture. The community has a consolidated high school, churches and agencies of trade and service such as grocery stores, garages, a lumber yard and a flour and feed mill. The level of living data of the sample of families in the Pellston community indicated that then 28 percent had telephones, 83 percent reported automobiles, and 53 percent running water. Eighty-six percent received a daily newspaper and 92 percent had a radio. About one-third of the families had estimated gross cash income of over two thousand dollars.

Residents of Pellston, however, had to go elsewhere for medical and hospital services. As stated above, until approximately five years ago, a medical doctor carried on a practice there. Now some of the residents go about 20 miles to doctors in Cheboygan for medical care. Others travel about an equal distance in the opposite direction to Petoskey. The patronage of hospitals by Pellston residents is about equally divided between Cheboygan and Petoskey.

A survey of health care indicated that the amount of need for medical care in Pellston was about the same as a state-wide sample of rural people. In the state-wide sample, 18 percent of the sample reported untreated symptoms, whereas the corresponding percentage for Pellston was 22. However, in a sample in another community which was well supplied with doctors and which also had a hospital, the percentage of the sample population having untreated positive symptoms was only five. Also, the percentage of people in Pellston making no calls at a doctor's office during a six-month period preceding the survey was higher than it was for a community well supplied with doctors or for the rural part of a state sample.

When an untreated positive symptom was reported, an inquiry was made to find out why a doctor had not been consulted. The reason most frequently given by Pellston informants was "too expensive," really fear that it would be too expensive. Fifteen informants gave this reason. Six said they thought the symptom was not serious and six reported "neglect, just haven't gotten around to it." It is interesting to note that no informant mentioned distance as a deterring factor, possibly because most of the families had an automobile and could get to a doctor's office in Cheboygan or Petoskey in a comparatively short period of time.

Pellston seems to be typical of many communities that do not have a doctor. They have no other alternative except to obtain medical care in the nearest community that does have a doctor. The new pattern that is emerging is for the medical service community to be larger in area in the automobile age than it was in the horse-and-buggy era. This new community includes not only doctors who are general practitioners, but specialists, clinical facilities and hospital services.

An Example of Medical Care in a Community Well Supplied With Physicians

In contrast to the situation in a community not having medical doctors, the result of a survey in another community, Tecumseh, Michigan, which was well supplied with doctors, may be cited. At the time of the survey, six doctors of medicine, two osteopaths and a chiropractor were practicing in the community. It also had a hospital. Tecumseh is located in Lenawee County which is in the southern part of the state adjacent to the state line. The town had a population of 4,000 in 1949 and the estimated population of the town and its trade area was 8,000. Both farming and local industries provide a stable economic base for the people of the community. There is a high school and several churches. Numerous associations and clubs are actively engaged in projects to improve the community. Level of living appeared to be quite high. Sixty-two percent of the sample of 50 homes had telephones and 86 percent had an automobile. Running water was reported in 82 percent of the homes. Ninety-six had a daily newspaper and all reported a radio. About three-fourths had gross cash incomes of over 2,000 dollars.

The level of health and health care was high. Only 5 percent of the sample reported untreated symptoms in contrast to 22 percent for Pellston and 18 percent for the state-wide sample. Also the percentage of symptoms which were treated by a medical doctor was higher in Tecumseh than in Pellston or in the state-wide sample.

It is significant to note, however, that when the informants in Tecumseh were asked why persons with untreated positive symptoms did not see a doctor, the reason most frequently given was "too expensive." Moreover, the tabulations showed that in this community as well as Pellston the percentage of individuals with untreated positive symptoms increased as the gross income of the family declined (21).

These data indicate that expense or cost of medical and hospital care is a general problem. It does not necessarily mean that the doctors and hospitals are over-charging. Rather it reflects the increase both in the amount and variety of services that are provided and an increase in costs of service previously offered. Very few, if any, families make a systematic budget for medical and hospital care unless they have some form of insurance which requires the regular payment of premiums. So any expense for health is regarded as unusual; therefore, it seems to be large. Also the total amount of expense for any particular family cannot be determined before the need occurs and it may well exceed the financial resources of the family. This situation makes insurance for medical and hospital care very necessary. It is interesting to note, therefore, than 53 percent of the families in Pellston and 58 percent of those in Tecumseh had insurance to pay for all or a part of the amount for hospital bills. For fees for surgery, the percentages were 39 for Pellston and 46 for Tecumseh.

Hospital Services

It was indicated in the preceding paragraphs that use of the hospital is increasing. This is true in both rural and urban communities. In a state-wide survey of Michigan which included rural, metropolitan and urban areas, it was clear that all areas utilized hospital service. The percentage of the population using the hospital during a six-month period varied from 1.1 for the metropolitan areas to 6.2 for villages. For open-country areas, the percentage was 3.3 and for urban areas, 3.3. The percentage for all areas combined was 3.3 (22).

The need for hospital care is unquestioned. The means of providing it constitute the principal problems for modern communities. Unlike the school or the church, it is not possible for each local trade center community to provide a hospital. It requires more population to support a hospital. The office of Hospital Survey and Construction of Michigan has designated three areas of hospital service:

(1) Base area. Any area having a medical school and a total population of 100,000. The area should have at least one general hospital with a complement of 200 or more beds for general use.

(2) Regional center. An area having at least 30,000 population and one hospital with a complement of 100 or more beds for general use.

(3) Community area. Any area so designated by the state agency which constitutes a unit, no part of which has been included in a base area or regional center and which should have available the following services: minor and uncomplicated surgery; in-

ternal medicine; obstetrics; eye, ear, nose and throat; dentistry; laboratory (bacteriology) and X-ray.

No figure as a population base is given but for community areas, a ratio of 2.95 beds per 1,000 population is recommended. It is thus evident with a little calculation that even a 25-bed hospital would require a population base of 6,000 to 10,000 (44).

It is obvious that many small communities do not have even 5,000 people and that to provide hospital care along the lines indicated is clearly impossible. However, this does not preclude the possibility of a small clinic where temporary treatment might be given, but not hospital care as indicated by the usual connotation of the term.

The conclusion seems clear that in the present period of community development and change, many communities will not have a sufficient population base to support a hospital. Hence, inter-community cooperation and use is the logical and necessary course to follow. Local situations and relationships will determine where the hospital will be located. In many rural areas it is most feasible to have it at the county seat. That location is usually most convenient for a majority of people, being centrally located, and also because the source of finances to build a hospital often comes from county funds.

The Michigan plan for hospital and medical facilities construction lists only 3 base areas for hospitals, 16 areas for regional centers and 53 community areas (44). The latter figure, 53, is considerably smaller than the number of town-country communities in Michigan. Plans for inter-community organization have not been developed or studied to the extent that plans for a single community have. If the hospital is developed on a county basis, then it can be financed wholly or in part by taxation based on the entire county. When it is financed by a single community either by tax funds or voluntary effort, or by a combination of the two, adjacent communities will not share in the control of the hospital, though their residents may use it.

The report of a health survey of a sample of families in Kent, Shiawassee and Cheboygan counties gives a fairly typical description of hospital use as it occurs in the rural areas and smaller cities in Michigan. The people in Kent county went to Grand Rapids for hospital care, the county seat of the county. Grand Rapids is a large city and has extensive hospital facilities. In Shiawassee county, the largest general hospital is in Owosso, also near the county seat. However, hospitals in the cities of Flint, Lansing, and St. Johns are located in counties adjacent to Shiawassee and some families went to them. Also there were two small osteopathic hospitals in Shiawassee county at the time of the survey. In Cheboygan county, there was a general hospital in the city of Cheboygan, the county seat. It was the only hospital in the county. Some families, however, in the southwestern part of the county went to hospitals in Petoskey and a few families went to a hospital in Gaylord, the first large town to the south of the county (15).

Public Health Facilities

The second general area of health and health care is public health work. It is, in a broad sense, preventative in nature. It is designed to protect the health of the people by maintaining a healthful environment. Thus maintaining good sanitary conditions and the promotion of preventative measures such as health clinics of various kinds are included. Health education programs, often in cooperation with school and voluntary health organizations, which are designed to improve the health practices and standards of the people, also come within the scope of public health work. It may involve clinics for the detection or prevention of disease, lectures, or education in the sense that organized classes will be held to consider certain problems like child care. Or it may include, particularly in the larger communities, voluntary organizations to deal with specialized health problems.

Organization of Public Health Activities

As in the case of medical service and hospitals, many communities are too small to provide the necessary organization for public health programs. The larger urban communities can provide for a public health department without undue expense but smaller communities cannot. So the logical course to follow is to establish a public health department on a county basis. Thus the smaller community areas become the centers where the county unit carries on many of its activities.

A county public health unit has a wide range of activities, such as collection of vital statistics, laboratory service, communicable disease control, public health nursing, environmental sanitation and health education. All of these activities are important aspects of health and health care which are not performed by physicians, hospitals, or the voluntary health organizations in the community or county.

The report of the Michigan state plan for hospitals and medical facilities construction for 1957-58 shows that 61 of the 83 counties in Michigan have full time county health departments. This is a remarkable increase. Only a few decades ago, the establishment of a county health unit was a true innovation in health organization and care. However, some of the twelve counties that now do not have county health departments, do have parts of the services offered by a county public health unit. For example, in Jackson County, the city of Jackson has established a public health department, but areas outside the corporate limits (or the Union School District which corresponds closely in area to the corporation limits of the city), are provided only to a limited extent with comparable services. The incorporated villages in the county have a medical doctor residing in the village who is designated as a health officer but he gives only a small part of his time to this work. Of the 19 townships, four had medically trained persons who served as health officers in 1957. In the remainder, the township supervisor was designated as the health officer. Thus it is evident that the residents in the suburban or rural parts of the county did not have the advantages of the health programs comparable to what was provided in the city of Jackson (23).

Since the advantages and benefits in having a county public health department seem so obvious, one may ask why every county does not have this department. There is no single or simple answer to this question for many factors are involved. One factor is the newness of the nature and purpose of public health programs. Since they are concerned largely with prevention and often stress the group and community approach to health, the people generally do not know what a public health program should do or what its objectives are. The traditional point of view regarding health is to center on the individual especially if he has pain, and then the customary procedure is to see the doctor. It takes an understanding of the value of modern preventive methods in health care to appreciate the advantages of public health work.

People often may not be aware of a health problem in the community even though one exists. For example, in the survey of Jackson County, 200 informants were asked if there were any health problems in their neighborhood or township. Only 66, or 33 percent of the total, said there were, and their answers seemed to be based on opinion. Sometimes residents in the same area would give different answers to the identical question and sometimes negative replies would be given by people living in areas that were definitely known to have a public health problem, such as sanitation (23).

It follows logically that if people do not know about public health problems, they will not understand the nature and purpose of a county public health department or whether or not one actually exists. In the Jackson County survey, 110 (55 percent) of the informants representing 200 families answered "yes" when asked, "Is there a county public health department in Jackson County?" But when asked, "Are you acquainted with the work of the department?" only 31 (28 percent) indicated that they were acquainted with functions of what they assumed to be a county public health department. On the other hand, when asked, "Do you feel that Jackson County should have a county public health department?" 172 (86 percent) said "yes." Similar results have been obtained in the survey of other communities. For example, in the Pellston community located in an area served by a district intercounty public health unit, only 44 percent of the informants said they were acquainted with the work of the county (district) health department. In Tecumseh, which is in a county where a public health unit had been established only a short period of time before, the informants were interviewed; only 26 percent gave a similar reply (21).

Though expense is often given as the reason for a county not having a county public health unit, it is doubtful if this is the basic reason. Since each county unit receives grants from the state government, it is not likely that the amount which the county would pay would be excessive or impose an unreasonable tax on the county. In fact, when the sample of 200 informants in Jackson County were asked about the desirability of a county public health department, 146 (73 per cent) said they would be willing to pay taxes to support it.

Voluntary Health Organizations

Voluntary health organizations usually develop for the purpose of combating a particular disease or for dealing with a health problem. Such organizations have increased in number in recent decades. They seek the support of the people in a particular area such as the local community or a county, though they do not duplicate one another in their objectives.

Such organizations are more numerous and have advanced farther with their programs in cities than they have in the smaller communities. For example, in the Jackson County study, there were 12 county-wide organizations (all located in the city of Jackson, the county seat, which had a population of 50,720 in 1960 as reported in the U. S. Census) (21). All of these carried on a program in health as a major project. A list of the names of these organizations follows: American Red Cross (Jackson County Chapter); American Cancer Society; Jackson County Tuberculosis Association; Jackson Chapter of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Inc.; Retarded Children's Society; Jackson County Medical Society; Jackson County Academy of Medicine and Dentistry, Inc.; Jackson County Health Council; Jackson District Dental Society; Jackson County Branch Nephrosis Foundation; Jackson County Council of Parent-Teachers Associations; and Council of Social Agencies of Jackson County.

In addition, the city of Jackson had five strictly local community organizations emphasizing health in their program of activities.

No other community in the county had an organization whose main or sole objective was a health program. However, several communities had at least one organization which emphasized some aspect of health. For example, Concord (population 730) had a Lion's Club which aided various fund drives for health purposes and provided glasses for needy persons. Clark Lake (Unincorporated) had an improvement association which had an active committee to deal with problems of sanitation. Grass Lake (population 878) had a Lion's Club which provided transportation for a blind person for treatments. Napoleon (Unincorporated) had a Lion's Club which provided glasses for needy people. *Northwest Area* (which involved Rives, Henrietta and Tompkins Townships) promoted medical and dental facilities in the area, specifically to get a doctor to locate in the area and worked for a county health department. Rives Junction (Unincorporated) had a Lion's Club which sponsored vision tests for all children registered in the local school district.

In a study of voluntary health organizations in Lansing, a total of 13 voluntary health organizations were found, plus three that were supported entirely or in part by public funds. Their programs were similar to those in Jackson though in one or two instances they were more specialized (24). While these organizations had their headquarters in Lansing, inquiry about their principal area of service showed that only two confined their programs to the city of Lansing. Seven included the Lansing Metropolitan area, six Ingham county (in which Lansing is located), and one included a tri-county area.

It seems clear from the survey in Jackson County and in Lansing that the larger communities tend to have specialized health organizations of a voluntary nature. The exact name of the organization, or the purpose it will try to accomplish will depend upon the local community situation. In all cases these organizations tend to supplement the work of doctors, hospitals and public health agencies.

Nor is there evidence that these voluntary health organizations duplicate one another in their objective. Each one tends to develop some aspect of health or health care. Also, it seems that these organizations do not compete with one another for leadership from the community. For example, in the Lansing survey, a check was made to see if certain names appeared in the lists for several organizations or if there was a tendency for individuals to limit their participation to being a board member or officer in one or two organizations. A total of 316 names was considered. Of this number, two persons were listed in as many as three organizations and 14 were listed in as many as two. This leaves an even 300 persons who were participating in only one health organization. There was a wide representation of occupations represented, though medical doctors and housewives were most numerous (24).

In summarizing the community aspects of health, a few deductions regarding programs of health care seem logical. It is clear from an understanding of the nature of health and health care that in the future more emphasis will be put on education. The need for education arises not only because each new generation must acquire health knowledge in order to maintain health, but also because research in the physical and biological sciences is rapidly advancing in depth and scope of areas studied.

Social organizations pertaining to health are also increasing in importance and help to meet the need for group action at the community level. Increased emphasis in social organization is needed both to prevent illness and to maintain a healthful environment. This trend is illustrated by the public concern with contagious diseases and the efforts by legal means and by education to prevent them. The list of health organizations in the Lansing community and the activities they carry on illustrate the trend.

More and more it seems probable that health services will center around clinics and hospitals. Legislation by the United States government to help communities finance hospital construction under the provision of the Hill-Burton Act is indicative of this trend. However, hospitals will aid but will not displace the physician because the physician makes the original and the more personal contact with the patient either at his office or at the clinic. Clinic and hospital services will be provided as a necessary and coordinate part of health services at locations which can be conveniently reached by a large number of people. This means that they will probably be located in the larger trade centers.

RECREATION

It may seem at first thought that recreation may not hold a coordinate place in community life along with religion, education, economic activities, or health. However, such a conclusion is not warranted by prevailing situations. People need recreation and certain aspects of it can be provided only by the community. Recreation is a very broad concept which includes many activities both on an individual and a group basis. The essential characteristic is that it shall be interesting and recreative or restful for the individual, in contrast to work activity. The exact point at which recreation begins and work ceases is not easily determined, nor is it necessary to make a sharp distinction for the purposes of this treatise. It is also clear that recreation may involve action on the part of an individual alone like reading, pursuit of a hobby, or listening to music. Such recreational activity has only an indirect relationship to the community except as the community may provide facilities for individual activity, as, for example, making books available through a public library. It is in connection with group activities of a recreational nature that a community situation becomes both important and indispensible.

One of the most obvious ways that the community relates to recreation for groups is to provide facilities for it. This includes physical facilities for meetings. A clear example of such a facility would be a community center building, though usually churches, school houses and lodge halls provide such conveniences. Another facility is a gymnasium with seating facilities for spectators for indoor athletic events. This is most frequently provided by the school gymnasium, though other institutions or agencies may provide this convenience. Such a facility is so generally accepted that a gymnasium is now considered an essential part of a school building.

The provisions for parks and playgrounds are other facilities which are great assets for recreation in the community. It is impossible for an individual family to have a park or playground comparable to what a community can provide. Thus in all these various ways the community encourages recreation and provides facilities for it.

The use of such facilities is greatly enhanced if there is leadership in the community to promote recreational activities. This is most generally and adequately provided for by the employment of recreation specialists by a publicly supported recreational department of a city or other legal unit. With such leadership, a great many different kinds of recreational activities such as games, contests, and the like, can be encouraged and organized.

Services of Institutions and Organizations

Though the services of recreational leaders are important in facilitating recreational activities, many communities do not employ them. Hence, recreational activities must be developed, if indeed they are developed at all, by the various organizations and institutions that exist in the community. Prominent among these agencies are churches, schools, lodges, and organizations of various kinds such as the YMCA, study clubs, civic organizations, and farmers' groups.

A study was made in 1931 of events on programs sponsored by institutions and organizations in ten communities in central Michigan for the period of one year. Included in this sample were rural communities of various sizes which tended to be representative of the different types of trade centers that rural or suburban people use (17). The results of one aspect of this investigation are shown in Table 9. The data show the types of events that institutions and organizations have in the meetings which they sponsor. Though a considerable period of time has passed since this research was done, there is no evidence or observation at hand to indicate that the meetings sponsored by such groups have changed in any significant way.

Although some of the events listed in this table are not primarily recreational in nature, it is clear that a great many of them are, or at least have recreational features associated with them. Such events provide experience in active participation for many individuals and passive participation for a much greater number. Recreation affords social contact for people under relatively informal and congenial circumstances. In earlier times, especially in rural areas, work activ-

TABLE 9—Events on programs sponsored by selected institutions and organizations in ten town country communities (17)

Event	*Church*	*School*	*Lodge*	*Study Club*	*Farmers Organization*	*Patriotic Organization*	*Civic Organization*
Instrumental Music	242	71	42	96	49	9	31
Group Singing	7,802	124	34	109	146	55	138
Vocal Numbers	1,630	55	18	92	54	6	41
Preaching	3,623	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lecture	371	88	38	61	74	14	159
Aesthetic and Group Dancing	8	49	39	4	8	9	4
Athletic Contest	42	115	1	3	1	—	—
Play Games	392	299	39	24	24	3	28
Play Cards	10	2	113	1	6	19	2
Debate	1	5	—	1	6	19	2
Home Talent Play	36	43	17	21	14	4	4
Study and Discussion	4,242	384	10	80	21	5	87
Lunch	328	146	149	81	73	26	40
Ritual	421	27	682	1	49	96	7
Supper	239	42	43	18	19	16	52
Banquet	23	20	33	9	2	4	8
Dinner	98	2	10	17	40	5	184
Business	153	12	207	8	31	49	68
Sewing	86	2	3	12	13	8	45
Reading and Recitation	258	15	22	72	31	14	42
Movies	64	4	4	—	2	—	4
Social Time	52	7	15	10	13	3	3
Hike	14	17	—	—	—	—	—
Play (not home talent)	2	6	—	—	—	1	1
Stereopticon Slides	17	3	1	—	—	—	—
Fair	5	3	—	—	5	—	—
Pageant	10	—	—	2	—	—	—
Book Reviews and Papers	31	1	2	127	15	6	8
Miscellaneous	26	8	10	10	5	—	10
Total	20,166	1,550	1,632	858	753	352	975

ities such as "log rolling," "barn raising," threshing, and other activities requiring group contact and cooperation provided at least limited amounts of informal contact. But in modern times with the advance in mechanization and specialization, the opportunities for contacts in connection with work situations have greatly diminished. Thus the need for meetings which provide opportunity for social contacts is enhanced. Recreation in connection with meetings of various kinds helps to fulfill this need.

A tabulation of events in the record of meetings referred to in Table 9 shows that events on the program provided for participation and social contacts among the persons present. Records were obtained for a total of 12,860 meetings and in connection with them a total of 27,413 events were recorded. They were divided as the following figures show.

Event	*Number*	*Per cent of Total*
Instrumental Music	571	2.0
Group Singing	8,534	31.1
Vocal Numbers	1,940	7.1
Preaching	3,727	13.6
Lecture	852	3.1
Aesthetic and Group Dancing	125	0.5
Athletic Contest	167	0.6
Play Games	842	3.1
Play Cards	153	0.6
Home Talent Play	142	0.5
Play (by talent outside the community)	10	*
Study and Discussion	5,200	19.0
Ritual	1,289	4.7
Lunch	884	3.2
Supper	435	1.6
Banquet	118	0.4
Dinner	451	1.6
Business	636	2.8
Sewing	263	1.0
Debate	9	*
Reading	525	1.9
Movies	87	0.3
Social	104	0.4
Hike	37	0.1
Stereopticon Slides	26	0.1
Fair	10	*
Pageant	12	0.1
Book Reviews or Papers	193	0.7
Miscellaneous	71	0.3

*Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

These meetings included only those at which the attendance was voluntary. Thus regular sessions of the public school and commericalized recreation were not included.

The foregoing discussion is presented with full recognition of the fact that most communities will provide various kinds of commercial recreation, such as motion pictures and to a lesser extent facilities for bowling as well as other types of recreation in which the individual pays a fee to be a spectator. All such activities are helpful in providing a varied and interesting recreational program for the people. It is a generally recognized fact that neither voluntary types of recreation or commercialized forms of recreation just mentioned only can provide an adequate program of recreation for the community. Both are essential and the more fully each is developed, the greater is the benefit for people living in the community.

COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

IT HAS BEEN pointed out in the preceding discussion that certain institutions of the community have an indispensible and irreplaceable role in community development. The mere mention of economic life, government, education or religion suggests how important these interests are. It might seem, therefore, that they would develop in an effective way without conscious planning effort. Such a result, however, is not likely to be realized.

Several circumstances make planning necessary unless the community trusts its future development to chance and fortuitous circumstances. In the first place, planning deals with the future. It is an anticipatory process. An essential element is well-ordered thought in which ends or means are clearly specified and decisions reached regarding the practical ways they are to be attained. Planning for the present is impossible except as one may try to meet conditions which have fortuitously arisen.

Another circumstance which makes planning advisable, though difficult, is the fact that social change is continually occurring. The clearest example of social change, perhaps, is changes in population. Decreases or increases in population affect community organizations in many ways. If there is a decrease, support for community institutions declines and there is less demand for community services of various kinds. If population increases, more demand for community services occurs. Also, changes or influences like inventions may greatly affect community life. For example, the use of the automobile caused many readjustments and changes in both rural and urban communities.

Since planning is concerned with the future there is not likely to be a sense of urgency regarding it on the part of people generally. The example of a community dependent upon a single resource illustrates this point. In a study of the history of a Michigan community dependent on the supply of virgin timber, it was evident that residents did not realistically consider a future when the supply of timber would be used up. They tended not to think about the matter at all or if they did, they merely hoped or assumed that a substitute of some kind would be found for the timber supply. But despite all predictions and hopes for other sources of income, the community did decline in both population and industry as the timber supply was exhausted until a new balance was obtained between population and resources (11).

Planning also requires consensus on the part of the major power groups in the community whenever it becomes effective. Uniformity of agreement among these groups to a point when planning can become a reality is not readily obtainable. Each group has its special interests and these interests may not be in agreement with the proposed plan. As the diversity of the interests of groups increase, the greater the difficulty in gaining consensus about definite plans becomes. Nevertheless, the logical necessity for planning is so great that agreement that planning should be done is usually obtainable.

It is customary and logical to think first of planning regarding the physical aspect of the community. This includes such matters as streets and highways, industrial developments, housing, and the location of schools. Eventually all facilities for cultural development and recreational needs, such as parks and playgrounds, come within the scope of the planning process. However, they are usually initiated as separate or special projects.

ORGANIZATION FOR PLANNING

The Community Council

The simplest and most direct form of organization for planning is the Community Council. This plan of organization is most adaptable seemingly to smaller communities. The essential feature of the plan is that each organization in the community will select a representative to the council. The council will then organize as a working organization and hold meetings at stated intervals. Its function is to consider and propose plans and programs which would benefit the community. The Community Council plan seems simple and workable. Its success depends upon the degree of integration and morale which prevail in the community and the "felt" need for community action regarding what the Community Council recommends. If morale is low and integration lacking, the chances are that the Community

Council will be regarded as just an additional organization and its programs and recommendations will be ineffective.

The Planning Commission

The Planning Commission is a more formal approach to planning and may be used by any legal unit such as an incorporated town or city or a county, and funds may be appropriated for the commission to carry on its work. This plan has the advantage of systematic approach to planning that is financed by taxation.

The scope of planning is very broad and may be regarded as a deliberate effort to control the physical development of a community by carefully considering the various community functions, such as: Physical characteristics, both natural and man made; human needs and desires; economic factors on an individual, city finance, community-wide basis; circulation of people and goods; and decisions, whether by individuals, corporations, or government (7). Not all of these matters can be considered in detail in a single study but all are necessary in a comprehensive planning program.

An example of planning is a report from the Lansing Michigan Tri-County (Clinton, Ingham, Eaton) Spatial Development Study. The report, which is entitled "Spatial Pattern Development in the Lansing Region," gives the findings of various phases of the community spatial structure and community deliniation study. The papers provide descriptive data and analyses of the spatial pattern of development of various community functions in the Lansing metropolitan region. The study makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the process and dynamics of community development and changes in the tri-county area. It is a tool to assist in local and regional planning of appropriate future location and distribution patterns for various public, semi-public, and private service facilities (32).

It seems obvious that all aspects of community life cannot be developed simultaneously, even though a master plan has been made. High priority, must be given to the physical basis of the community for without that, other phases cannot be developed in a logical relationship to one another. Once the physical plan is at hand, other aspects, like the location of businesses and factories, housing developments, hospitals, schools and recreational facilities such as parks and playgrounds, can proceed. Each aspect becomes a project in community development and as such may be regarded as a type of social action. Therefore, an analysis of social action may now be considered.

Aspects of Social Action

Social action is a complicated process but certain aspects of it may be deliniated for purposes of analysis. These aspects are initiation, legitimation, and execution. The consideration of each of these aspects in community development is helpful not only as an aid in gaining a better understanding of the project but in obtaining success with the project itself. Described in this manner it may appear that these aspects of community action are relatively distinct and separate. Actually they are not. They are interrelated parts of a continuous social process. It is advantageous, nevertheless, to consider them separately because if any one aspect is neglected, the success of programs of community action is less certain.

Initiation[6]

No project in a community can occur unless someone initiates it. Usually those who initiate action are community leaders or at least leaders in various community groups. To have the initiation made by a person or group not logically in position to make such proposals greatly limits its chances for success. In the Mohawk community, for example, a total of eight major action projects were initiated. Of the eight, three were initiated by newcomers to the community. These were additions to the hospital, additions to the school, and flouridation of water. Three other projects, establishing Mohawk products, modernization of Main Street, and building a hospital were initiated by "old roots" (residents who lived in the community before industrialization came in) and newcomers. It is perhaps significant that no project during the course of study was initiated entirely by the "old roots" alone. Seemingly, they were adjusted to conditions that prevailed in the community.

---

[6] The following paragraph is adapted from Charles R. Hoffer and Walter Freeman. *Social Action Resulting from Industrial Development.* (1955). Special Bulletin 401, Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 401.

Within each of the two groups, the old roots and the newcomers, which were dominant in community affairs, there were community leaders who possessed power and influence in the community. Hence, these projects successfully attained the second stage in the action process, namely legitimation.

The situations which produce initiation vary greatly. It is impossible to list all the circumstances that may cause a proposal for action, though a "felt" need, a crisis, or an anticipated need are the usual causes. Perhaps a "felt" need on the part of a considerable number of people in the community is the most frequent cause. For example, in Mohawk it was the "newcomers" more frequently than any other group who wanted various improvements and projects which were initiated in that community. Moreover, the newcomer group possessed sufficient power and influence in the community so that their proposals gained respectful and serious consideration.

Legitimation

Initiation of action or proposals for action is a relatively simple matter, but initiation alone is not sufficient. The action must be legitimized; that is, it must have the approval of the various groups in the community that have social power (authority and influence) to stop the proposed action if they happen to disapprove. A few examples will help to clarify the meaning of this phase of the action process. In Mohawk, approval of the modernization of Main Street was initiated by the Chamber of Commerce and was supported by both old roots and newcomers. Another kind of community action, the changing from village to city form of government, was preceded by six years of discussion on the part of all of the major power groups in the community. Finally it was put on the election ballot and was approved.

Initiation of action without reasonable assurance of approval, or at least absence of opposition on the part of power groups in the community, is unwise for the proposed action may never get beyond the initiation stage. Sources of opposition are as numerous and varied as community life itself. A proposed action in one part of the community is almost certain to affect other parts, either directly or indirectly. Hence, opposition is a potential threat to any kind of community action, no matter how desirable it may be.

The problem of those interested in achieving any type of community action, therefore, is to neutralize opposition as much as possible through publicity and the support of groups having social power with reference to the proposed action. Thus, health programs need the support of medical groups. Matters involving governmental action or expenditure of public funds certainly will be more likely to be accepted if they have the approval of political leaders.

Execution

The third phase of the social action process is execution or carrying the action to completion. There are in general three ways in which this may be accomplished; namely, (1) employing an organization or agency to do the work, (2) assigning the task to an existing organization in the community, or (3) establishing an organization especially for the task. The objectives of the action will determine in a large measure the method which will be most feasible to use.

If the objectives of the action are primarily to obtain facts, then one of the easiest methods is to employ an organization to do the work. Thus, commercial firms may be employed to make surveys such as public opinion surveys or market studies. In projects of this kind, the emphasis is on information which can be obtained in a comparatively brief period of time. The limitations of the method are: (1) It is expensive and (2) there is very little educational value for residents in the community.

This method is most logical, even necessary, in fact, when the final phase of the community action project involves the construction of a building, improvement of streets or similar projects. Constructing a new school and building, a hospital, or a library are other illustrations. In the area of opinion or market surveys, information about a particular subject or issue would be examples of projects of this type.

The second method used in the execution phase of the action process is to assign the task to an organization already existing in the community. This is a relatively uncomplicated method of social action and is usually less expensive than hiring an organization to do it. For projects which need action and support from the entire community, any organization which has as its objective the improvement of the welfare of the community may take the responsibility. Thus, in obtaining improvements, such as hospitals, the execution phase (to the point of letting the contract for the building) may be carried on by hospital boards or associations, political groups, service clubs or citizens' councils. Once these groups have accepted responsibility, they may then involve many individuals and groups. For example, in a health survey of a Michigan county, "At one point nearly 400 local people had interviewed 5,570 households after the project became legitimized (51)."

The third method is to establish a special organization such as a committee. This method is adaptable to projects which logically extend beyond the limits of a particular organization. Examples of projects of this kind might be the development of a community pageant, obtaining a recreational facility, or promoting a community chest campaign for welfare services. Ordinarily such projects involve a central committee and then as many supplementary committees as may be needed. In the use of this approach it is essential that all the major organization and interest groups in the community be represented. Otherwise there will be no point of access to the unrepresented groups.

Community Planning and Community Development

In thus outlining the various aspects of community planning and social action to attain it, there is an implicit assumption that such programs will produce a measure of community development, for residents in the community will inevitably be involved in one way or another. However, community development considered as an educational process for the residents is not a necessary or inevitable result. It is possible that community planning and action may result without a corresponding advance in community understanding on the part of the people. This is true because community development involves education of the citizens in the sense that there is an increase in understanding and appreciation of the goals and values being achieved in community planning and their relationship to the large society of which the community is a part.

Unless there is due attention to the educational aspect, there is danger that community planning and social action programs needed to make it a reality will be achieved by the maniplation of the people by community leaders and professional personnel. When this happens people become less capable of understanding the implications of what is being done and lack both the knowledge and will to support it. If such trends develop, the possibilities for additional planning become more difficult. On the other hand, if planning is successful in its educational aspects it tends to be cumulative in its effects as the various projects are carried out.

In a democratically organized society which is dedicated to the development and freedom of citizens to make decisions about their destiny, the educational aspect of community planning is indispensable. As surveys of social planning programs seem to indicate, planning has proceeded farther at state and national levels than it has in local communities. Unless community planning and community development occur at the local community level there is the likelihood that local communities will tend to accept plans by state or national government agencies as they endeavor to meet the needs which people have. On the other hand, without community understanding and cooperation, state and national agencies run the risk of possible failure of their programs, not because they are defective or unnecessary, but rather, because there is a lack of understanding and endorsement by the people in the smaller units of government which represent local communities. In many respects, democracy succeeds or fails at the local community level, and social planning is no exception to this. It is at this point the various extension programs of the land grant colleges and universities are dedicated to help all the people through the development and utilization of knowledge in the promotion of human welfare. Programs of research are indispensible, but from the standpoint of the nature and purpose of the land grant university, they are insufficient. Extension is needed to make them applicable in whatever way and to the extent which seems feasible for the local community. Research provides the basic information. Extension provides the stimulus for its application.

Through the extension program, information on almost every aspect of community life can be obtained. The resources and information pertaining to planning is especially important. It can provide information regarding population changes and trends as well as basic information about economic and social life. In this manner, the extension service helps people make rational adjustments in community life to social trends and changes which are irrevocable. This may involve working with larger groups, as is illustrated by consolidation of several schools into one district, the annexation of a suburban area to a city, or cooperation in a county public health unit. For the small communities action along these lines is necessary and inevitable.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

IT SEEMS EVIDENT from the discussion and data presented in this bulletin that the concept of community is changing. Emphasis in community analysis is shifting from area to interest. The essential ingredients of the community—people, area, and interest as a consequence of living in the area—remain, but interest becomes the dominant element in the process. Modern means of communication and transportation, the increases of part-time farming and non-farm residents, and changes in agricultural production and distribution have brought about this shift in emphasis.

As a consequence of these changes, what have traditionally been known as open country communities (sometimes called village communities) have declined in number and many have disappeared entirely. They will probably continue to decrease in number in the future.

Town-country communities are more numerous and most of them have a better chance in adjusting to future trends and changes. The town-country community will offer more goods and services of a convenience nature but for certain kinds of services requiring more population than a small town-country community can provide, inter-community cooperation will be necessary. Such cooperation occurs already on an informal basis when residents of a town-country community go to a larger center for certain types of merchandise or professional services or when several communities cooperate in providing hospital facilities.

The suburban community represents a more recent development in Michigan and elsewhere in the United States. It is a unique type of community in some respects because its economic support may be obtained from another nearby community. In most other ways, however, the suburban community can and does develop its own institutions and organizations essential to the maintenance of community life. In the matter of services which it cannot provide, there is the larger urban community nearby which offers them. Often a period of what seems to be disorganization, or perhaps unorganization, occurs when the suburban community first starts, but it usually acquires the stability and the necessary organizations and services which contribute to an adequate and satisfying community life.

The urban community is most complete and specialized from the standpoint of community organization and service. It faces the problems of high density of population and deterioration of its older sections. But these are not insurmountable difficulties. It seems entirely possible that with the increased use of urban planning and urban renewal programs, great strides will be made in urban communities within the next fifty years.

It is axiomatic to state that a community must have an adequate economic base. For this base it must depend upon a natural resource, agriculture, and/or industry. A comparatively small number of communities existing on the basis of some specialized service tend to be exceptions to this statement, however. It is therefore highly important that a community develop its resources to provide income for the people. Agriculture is a good illustration. The more it can be developed along profitable lines, as indicated by agricultural research and extension, the greater is the possibility of developing and maintaining a stable community life. Likewise, the development of industry, which is generally sponsored by Chambers of Commerce and other organizations, adds to the financial well-being of a community through providing wealth and tax income for community purposes.

When agriculture, industry or other sources of income become insufficient for the population, the inevitable result is a decline in the population of the community through migration to other places. The minimum amount of economic support that a community should have is sufficient income for the population to maintain an acceptable level of living. Recent efforts by the federally sponsored Rural Area Redevelopment Act are designed to increase income in depressed areas by developing local resources, in whatever ways may be feasible, so that more people can be employed. Examples of such programs include utilization of natural resources, manufacturing, or the development of tourist business.

Government is an essential element in the community life, but the existence and over-lapping of various units tend to blur its importance for the average citizen. Also, the inability of the boundaries of government services to coincide with areas of community interest further confuses the role of government. But despite these difficulties there are many services of government at the local community level which are indispensable. These include a wide range of activities such as police protection, sanitation, health care, traffic control and facilities, and education. The problem is to coordinate these activities and to create interest of citizens in what the government does and can do.

Changes in population affect the organization of government. In rural areas where a decrease in population has occurred, the result has been to shift the emphasis from the township to other units, usually the county. There is every indication that in the future the county will become an increasingly important unit of government in Michigan. This development will encourage interests and organization in other areas so that in some respects the county itself will become a community. The principal exception to this situation will be the development of an urban community so large that its governmental functions tend to exceed those of the county in which it is located.

Over the years there has been a great increase in the activities of units of government larger than the county which affect community life. This has occurred in many areas, but is most general in the financial and regulatory activities which exert control. This financial support and control is aimed at the maintenance of minimum standards of government service, but it is often interpreted as unwarranted interference in community affairs by larger units of government. Thus a dilemma exists. People are willing to accept, often with much enthusiasm, the benefits of the larger units of government, but on the other hand, they complain about the controls that are necessary if aid such as support for highways, schools, payments for agricultural surplus and the like are to be provided.

This dilemma need not exist and possibly it will decrease in the future as the mutual interests of each unit of government become clearer. Many government programs of state and federal aid have been developed so recently that they have not as yet become a part of the accepted pattern of community life. County Cooperative Extension Service provides an illustration of a program that has gained acceptance. It was seriously questioned and criticized in some counties when it first started soon after 1914, but with the passing of time, understanding of its objectives have become more general and improvements in its program and methods of presenting it have occurred.

The outstanding change in the public school on the organization side has been the development of consolidated school districts. Two influences among many others have contributed to this development.

One has been the decline of population in rural areas, particularly in the open country. The other has been the expansion and improvement in educational methods which require more staff and specialized instruction than a one-room district school can provide. The development of high school facilities within a reasonable distance from the homes of the pupils has also contributed to this change. The trend is definitely in the direction of organizing school districts into larger units. Efforts to modernize the curriculum and relate it to local community situations as well as influences outside the local community have also been an important change. Further developments in this direction seems certain in the future.

In many ways, the library aids the school in its educational endeavors by providing reference and supplementary materials for the school instructional program. But the library serves the community also in other ways by providing reading material for avocational and recreational purposes. Despite the great increase in mass communication media it seems likely that demand for reading material and related services of libraries will increase.

Although the library is an agent of community service, it requires a considerable number of people and a fairly large tax base to support it. For this reason small communities find it more feasible to cooperate with other similar communities to provide library service on a county basis. Library service is appreciated as it is used. Hence most libraries have gradually increased their service in local communities.

The cooperative Extension Service has become so extensive and inclusive in its scope that it encompasses many important aspects of community life. Starting as it did in 1914 with the improvement of farm production as its main objective, it has gradually expanded to include homemaking and 4-H Club work. Though the Cooperative Extension Service is organized on a county basis, much of its work is carried on at the local community level. It is in the local community that the program provides service and gains support for many of its projects. Here needs are defined and organization and leadership exist to make extension programs successful.

Cooperative extension work has adjusted to changes in community life. Hence, to an increasing extent, it has designed projects of interest and value to residents in suburban areas and to some extent in urban areas. This has been done while continuing to emphasize agricultural interests. A decrease in numbers of farms and farmers does not mean a decline in the importance of agriculture. In fact, just the opposite tends to be true. As the percentage of the population dependent upon agriculture decreases, the importance of agriculture increases.

The church has always been an important institution in community life. In pioneer days, a settlement of people soon found it desirable to establish a church. This tendency was so great that not one church, but several might be organized in a community, even when its population would be insufficient to support them on an adequate basis. The existence of several churches in a community with similar denominational affiliations is evidence of this trend. Gradually, however, the emphasis on denominationalism has declined and the essential role of the church in the community is being emphasized more. But the emphasis on denomination preferences continues to exist in many communities. This is not necessarily disadvantageous to the community life. It is only when the main goal of a church is denominational development rather than service to the people of the community that such emphasis has a negative influence on the community.

To the church is allocated the role of interpreting and developing the religious interests of the people. No other institution in the community has this function. It fulfills this purpose by interpreting the religion, by teaching about its nature and principles, and by demonstrating the principles in the local community in whatever ways may be most feasible.

The interpretation of religion is accomplished most directly by preaching, which is done at a church service. Teaching is accomplished in Sunday school and similar programs. Demonstration may include any number of activities which will promote the welfare of the people in ways consistent with the principles of the religion. Examples of demonstration might include aid to the needy, programs of recreation for children, youth, older persons, and mission programs of various kinds.

Community influences and relationships in the field of health have increased in recent decades as the public health movement has become more generally accepted by the people. Health is not entirely an individual matter. Problems of sanitation and the control of communicable diseases as well as problems in health education are unavoidable. These circumstances make public health departments which operate at the community level necessary. The larger communities through municipal government can provide these services, but smaller communities will obtain them through the programs of a county public health department. However, the purpose and programs of county public health departments are comparatively new, and an understanding of them is not general among the people. A gradual acceptance of them can be expected.

Another comparatively recent development is the increased use of hospitals in the treatment and cure of illnesses and in the care for the chronically ill. Doctors no longer find that it is possible to give the necessary treatment in some cases without the aid of hospital care. Obviously hospitals must be provided on a community basis. No family can provide its own hospital. Hospitals are expensive to build and operate. It is for this reason that they must have an adequate basis of support either on a municipal or county basis or by non-governmental sources. Moreover, the interrelationships between a hospital and its community continue after the hospital is built in the form of control by a hospital board and by volunteer effort on the part of certain members of the community to aid the hospital in its work.

Due to the advance in medical science, use of hospitals, and the general rise in prices, health care, or more specifically, the treatment of illness, has become increasingly expensive. The risk of these expenses is so great that most families of ordinary means face possible financial disaster because of illness. This situation is most effectively met by use of pre-payment plans for hospital and other health care expenses. Hence programs of health insurance have developed on a group basis, usually a group of some kind in the community. Thus most insurance programs for hospital and health care become, in their organizational aspects, essentially community projects.

The role of the community in recreation is sometimes overlooked because it is so diffuse and so generally accepted. It is important to emphasize, however, that the local community has a very important part in providing facilities for recreation. The provision of parks and playgrounds and other facilities for recreation readily come to mind. Also the sponsorship of games and contests of various kinds by community groups demonstrates the importance of the community in fulfilling the recreational needs of the people which are in addition to the recreation that is provided on a commercial basis.

It is now recognized that the local community does not have a designated center or source of social power. Instead, social power resides among different groups and individuals. It can be exercised only when different segments of the community voluntarily agree on a program of action or are coerced by social pressures in doing so. In either case social planning and citizen involvement in it are necessary. Without planning, the community tends to drift from one crisis situation to another. With planning, such matters as municipal services of various kinds, street improvements for expected traffic flow, and the location of businesses, schools, playgrounds, and parks can be determined.

Planning not only provides a systematic way to meet changes, but it has the additional value of involving citizens in the process. Thus planning and community development coincide and tend to supplement each other, for community development involves citizen understanding and participation to the extent that is feasible.

The community council may act as a focal point for community planning but it is often more feasible to have a more formal structure such as a planning commission. In either case the deliberation of these groups must eventually be approved by the citizens of the community, usually through discussion and voting. This acceptance phase of social planning thus involves social action.

Social action is a complicated process but certain aspects of it may be delineated for purposes of analysis. One aspect is initiation. The plan or project must be proposed in a manner which will make it seem like a logical and necessary step. The second aspect is legitimation—approval of the project by the significant power groups in the community and eventually by the citizens through voting or other channels of approval. Otherwise the proposal will not be accepted.

The third step is execution or carrying out the project once it has been approved. This may be done by any organization in the community which assumes the responsibility, or by the formation of a special committee to carry out the proposal. Finally, an organization or agency may be employed to do the work. The nature and purpose of the project will determine in a large measure which method is most feasible.

The foregoing summary and discussion indicates that the local community becomes the focal point for so many activities and interests in modern society that its importance and continuity seem certain. The structure of the community may change but its essential features and functions will remain.

References Cited and Related Literature

1. Beegle, J. Allan and Donald Halsted (1959). Michigan's changing population. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 415.
2. Beegle, Allan, Hambir Phadtare, Roger Rice, and John F. Thaden (1962). Michigan population 1960; selected characteristics and change. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 438.
3. Beegle, J. Allan and Widick Schroeder (1955). Social organization in North Lansing fringe. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bul. 251.
4. Bernard, Jesse (1949) *American Community Behavior*. The Dryden Press, New York.
5. Biddle, William W. (1956). People grow in communities. Earlham College Bulletin.
6. Carr, James McLeod (1960). *Working Together in the Larger Parish*. Church and Community Press, Atlanta, Georgia.
7. Duke, Richard D. (1962). The planning process in community development. Institute for Community Development Tech. Bul. B-31.
8. Firey, Walter (1946). Social aspects to land use in the country-city fringe: The case of Flint, Michigan. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 339.
9. Galpin, C. J. (1915). The social anatomy of an agricultural community. Wis. Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 34.
10. Galpin, Charles J. (1918). *Rural Life*. The Century Co., New York.
11. Gibson, D. L. (1944). Socio-economic evolution in a timbered area in northern Michigan (A case study of Cheboygan, Michigan, 1890-1940). Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bul. 193.
12. Greene, Shirley (1957). *The New Day in Town-Country Church*. Town and Country Church Department of the United Church of Christ, 195 LaSalle St., Chicago 3, Illinois.
13. Hillery, George A. (1955). Definition of community: Areas of agreement. Rural Soc., Vol. 20, pp. 111-123.
14. Havighurst, Robert J. and Bernice L. Neugarten (1957). *Society and Education*. Allan and Bacon, Inc., Boston.
15. Hoffer, Charles R. (1948). Health and health services for Michigan farm families. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 352.
16. Hoffer, C. R. (1931). Services of rural trade centers. Social Forces X, pp. 67-69.
17. Hoffer, Charles R. and Margaret Cawood (1931). Services of institutions and organizations in town-country communities. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 208.
18. Hoffer, Charles R. (1946). Social organization in relation to extension service in Eaton County. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 338.

19. Hoffer, Charles R. (1945). Community Planning in War Time. *Mich. Academy of Science, Arts. and Letters,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 317-324.

20. Hoffer, C. R. and D. L. Gibson (1941). The community situation as it affects agricultural extension work. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 312.

21. Hoffer, Charles R. and Clarence Jane (1952). Health needs and health care in two selected Michigan communities. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 337.

22. Hoffer, Charles R., Duane L. Gibson, Charles P. Loomis, Paul Miller, Edgar Schuler and John F. Thaden (1950). Health needs and health care in Michigan (Report of a state-wide survey). Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 365.

23. Hoffer, Charles R. and James Dove (1959). Organizations and services for health care (A survey of Jackson County, Michigan). Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Quart. Bul. 42: 210-231.

24. Hoffer, Charles R. (1961). Health organizations in the Lansing community. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Quart. Bul. 43: 700-713.

25. Hoffer, Charles R. (1945). Public library service for Michigan rural residents. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Quart. Bul. 28: 1-9.

26. Hoffer, Charles R. (1942). Acceptance of approved farming practices among farmers of Dutch descent. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 316.

27. Hoffer, Charles R. (1935). Changes in retail and service facilities of rural trade centers in Michigan, 1900-1930. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 261.

28. Hoffer, Charles R. (1958). Social action in community development. Rural Soc., Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 43-51.

29. Hoffer, Charles R. (1948). The changing ecological pattern in rural life. Rural Soc., Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 176-180.

30. Hoffer, Charles R. (1939). The interests of rural people as portrayed in weekly newspapers. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 298.

31. Hoglund, C. R. and R. L. Cook (1954). Fertilizer and production practices reduce unit costs and increase returns. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Quart. Bul. 37: 150-165.

32. Institute for Community Development, Continuing Education Service (1962). Institute Activities Report, No. 49. Mich. State Univ.

33. Kinneman, John K. (1947). *The Community in American Society.* F. S. Crofts and Co., New York.

34. Kurtz, Richard A. and Joel Smith (1961). Social life in the rural-urban fringe. Rural Soc., Vol. 26, No. 1.

35. Kimball, Solon R. (1949). The fringe: The new frontier. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 360.

36. Lancaster, Lane N. (1952). *Government in Rural America.* 2d ed. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., New York.

37. Loomis, Charles P. and J. Allan Beegle (1957). *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change*. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood-Cliffs, N. J.

38. Loomis, Charles P., *et. al.* (1953). *Rural Social Systems and Adult Education*. Mich. State Univ. Press, East Lansing.

39. Michigan State Library (1961). Statistics about Michigan libraries. Michigan Library News, Vol. 20.

40. Miller, Paul A. and J. Allan Beegle (1947). The farm people of Livingston County. Mich. State Univ., Ext. Serv., Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology.

41. Miller, Paul, *et. al.* (1953). *Community Health Action*. Mich. State Univ. Press, East Lansing.

42. Moore, E. Howard and Raleigh Barlowe (1955). Effects of suburbanization upon land use. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bul. 253.

43. Nelson, Lowry, Charles E. Ramsey and Coolie Verner (1960). *Community Structure and Change*. The Macmillan Co., New York.

44. Office of Hospital Survey and Construction (Fiscal Year 1957-58). Michigan state plan for hospital and medical facilities construction. Lansing 23, Mich.

45. Poston, Richard W. (1950). *Small Town Renaissance*. Harper Brothers, New York.

46. Press, Charles (1959). When one third of a city moves to the suburbs. Inst. for Community Development Res. Report #1, Cont. Ed. Serv., Mich. State Univ.

47. Sanders, Irwin T. (1958). *The Community, An Introduction to a Social System*. The Ronald Press, New York.

48. Sanderson, Dwight (1932). *The Rural Community, The Natural History of a Sociological Group*. Ginn and Co., Boston.

49. Seay, Maurice F. and Ferris N. Crawford (1954). *The Community School and Self Improvement*. Published by Clair L. Taylor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Lansing, Mich.

50. Sower, Christopher (1954). *Youth in the Suburb*. Social Research Service, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Mich. State Univ.

51. Sower, Christopher, John Holland, Kenneth Tiedke, and Walter Freeman (1957). *Community Involvement* (An analysis of the ways in which a social action program is carried out in a local community). The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

52. Thaden, J. F. (1957). Community school districts. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 410.

53. Thaden, John F. (1951). Distribution of doctors of medicine and osteopaths in Michigan communities. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 370.

54. Thaden, J. F. (1962). Population of Michigan counties Inst. for Community Development Tech. Bul. 24, Cont. Ed. Serv., Mich. State Univ.

55. Ulrey, O. and Arthur Howland (1956). Cooperative and non-profit dairy associations in Michigan. Mich. Agr. Expt. Sta. Spec. Bul. 404.

6-64—5M—ST